PEEKSKILL HATE SPREADS TO CHICAGO . . . Page 3

Profits and pap

The truth about the A & P

By Lawrence Emery

"DO you want your A & P put out of business?"

Millions of Americans, readers of some 2,000 daily newspapers from coast to coast, have had this question put before them—at an estimated cost to the company of between $5,000,000 and $10,000,000.

Most U. S. housewives who shop at A & P would reply: "No." But the question is false. No-one is trying to put A & P out of business. The government, in its anti-trust suit, is simply trying to force the chain to abide by U.S. laws governing monopoly practices in restraint of trade.

The present action dates back to 1942, when a criminal suit was filed against A & P for anti-trust law violations. Four years later A & P was convicted; last February the U. S. Court of Appeals upheld the verdict. A & P officials were fined $175,000.

Now the government seeks to restrain the company from continuing practices of which it has already been convicted. A & P, says Assistant Attorney General Herbert A. Bergson, "has demonstrated that it will not use its subsidiaries in a lawful manner."

IMPORTANCE OF BEING HARTFORD: A & P is one of the tightest holdings in the U.S. Almost all of its stock—99.97%—is owned by two men, the brothers George L. and John A. Hartford.

Last year its sales totaled $2,837,291,195. Its profits after taxes were $38,661,751. Its total assets stood at $358,691.684. All told, the group of companies forming A & P constitute the largest purchasers, manufacturers, processors and retailers of food and food products in the country.

The question that should be asked is an old and recurring one in our "free enterprise" economy. Shall such enormous power be used for the enrichment of its owners to the detriment of small competitors, or shall the advantages of highly centralized purchasing, warehousing and wholesaling be used to benefit consumers and growers?

THE CHARGES: Specifically, the government's charges are that:

- A & P coerces suppliers secretly to maintain a two-price system—a low one to A & P, a higher one to A & P's competitors;
- A & P suppliers are forced under threat of withdrawing patronage to grant preferential allowances and special rebates to A & P;
- A & P, while maintaining its overall profits, concentrated in selected areas to give "arbitrarily low and often sub-cost" retail prices to drive out competition, after which prices went up;
- A & P, through its absolute control of the Atlantic Commission Co. (ACCO), largest food purchasing and selling agency in the country, forced shippers to give cash discounts to A & P but none to A & P competitors; ACCO also diverts best quality products to A & P, the inferior to its competitors;
- A & P, through ACCO, by bribery and other means, got control of cooperative associations for its own ends.

STRANGE BOOSTERS: In addition, A & P was charged with making enormous profits through short weights, overcharges and price boosting. Rep. Wright Patman (D-Tex.) declared in Congress that the chain made $1,953,000 by these practices in 1941, and between 1935 and 1941 a total of $21,714,000.

The government's own brief said: "The A & P officials, from Mr. John A. Hartford down to unit employes, admitted that their stock gains wefe abnormal in amount and the result of illegal practices. They recognized repeatedly that such gains were due to manipulative practices such as short weights and measures and overcharging of customers."

None of this is hinted at in A & P's current advertising campaign about the company's "fair, honest dealing," which has enlisted the backing of such diverse groups as the AFL Amalgamated Meat Cutters, the American Trucking Assn., the Yale Law Journal and the Committee for Constitutional Government. This Committee, formerly directed by a convicted German agent, was called in Congress in 1945 the U. S.' "no. 1 fascist organization." The national campaign defending A & P's monopolistic practices was designed by public relations man Carl Byoir, whom a Justice Dept. report accused of getting $100,000 to propagandize here for Hitler.

ADVERTISING PAYS: Taking a middle position is the New Council of American Business, Inc., an organization of small businessmen.

Another small business group, the National Federation of Independent Business, has tried to support the government's suit with its own advertising campaign to counteract A & P's full-page spreads. In Washington, D.C., only one

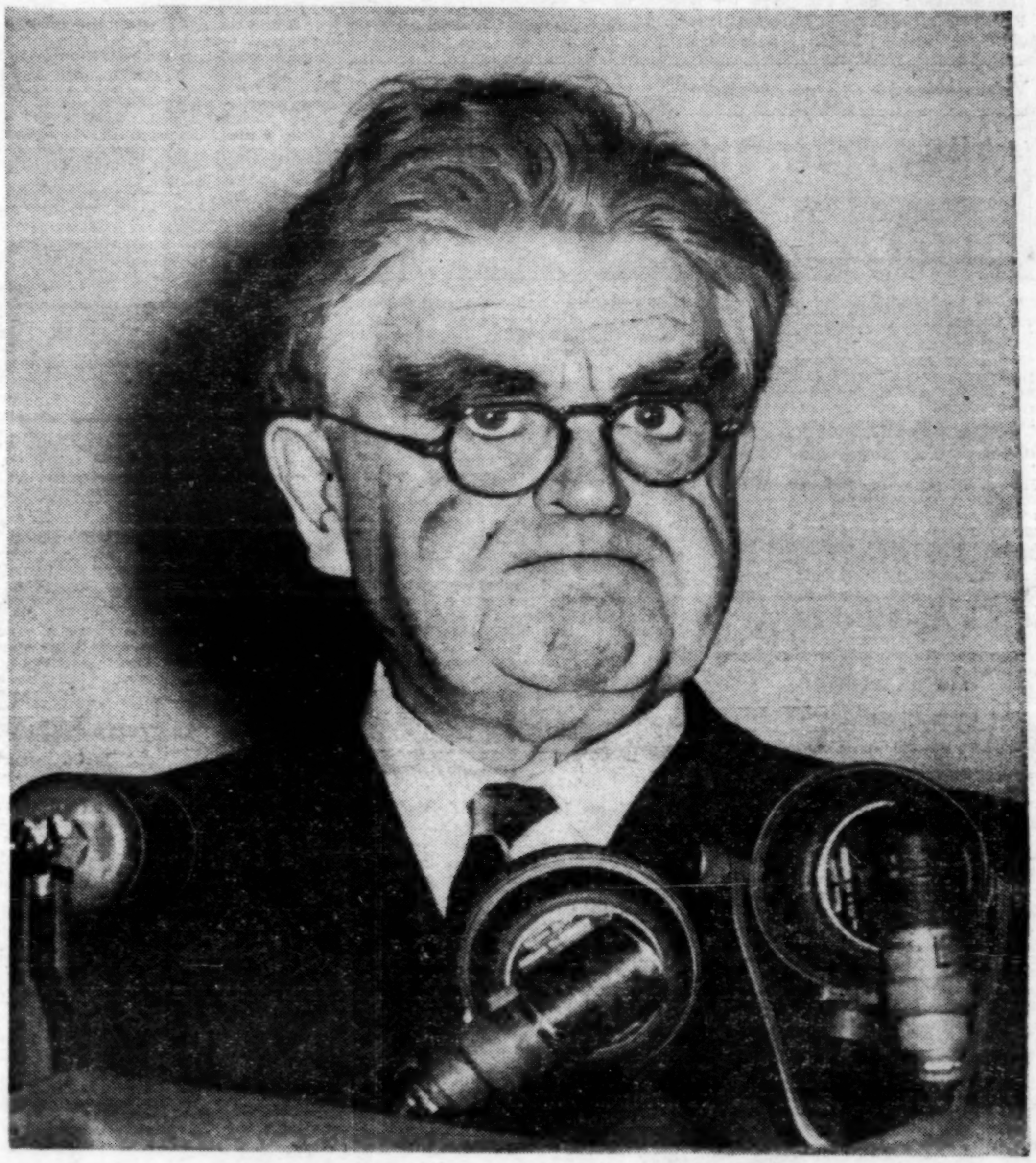
(Continued on Page 12)

NATIONAL GUARDIAN

5 cents

the progressive newsweekly

Vol. 2, No. 6 NEW YORK, N. Y., NOVEMBER 21, 1949



God's angry man

It was a busy and a gray week for John L. Lewis, United Mine Workers chief. After he ordered his miners back to work, he paid a $1,420,000 fine against his union for being contemptuous of the Taft-Hartley Law; accused the mine owners of planning a new price gouge against the public; lambasted the operators for refusing to sit down and negotiate. At the week-end the nation was watching to see what President Truman would do about the mine situation. For details, see LABOR WEEK.

O. JOHN ROGGE

A plan to unite U. S. anti-fascists

PAGE 12

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EATING WELL, FRIEND?

Let's take a look at the other half

PAGE 8

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THE MAILBAG

Well done, Marc!

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Congratulations and heartfelt thanks to Marc for his magnificent performance as "our" candidate in the election. Under all the circumstances, to have polled over 350,000 votes was a real feat.

In my opinion, the outcome was determined by the phony issue of "statism" raised by the Republicans. Menaced by Republican candidates who described the present setup as a "welfare state" and set their faces against all forms of social legislation or government planning in the field of economics, the voters fled for shelter to the Democratic fold. Doubtless many realized that the Truman Administration offers but a poor sort of shelter. But the prime necessity was to prevent the Republicans from returning to power.

Our role as Progressives must continue to be that of keeping the issues before the people and prodding public officials for performance on their campaign promises. Let another year further reveal the inevitable consequences of the Truman policies, foreign and domestic, and perhaps by November, 1950, the voters may be fleeing also from the menace presented by the Democrats.

Rachel Fossett

Cross of peace

NEWTON, MASS.

The following is a letter to John Foster Dulles:

"The forces hoping for peace and security are proud you are defeated. The country needs men who bear the cross of peace in their hearts: not men who carry oil cans to prime the flames of war, hate and destruction."

David Baden

Give it straight

NEW YORK, N. Y.

The bottomless and empty pit which is now my stomach is the same feeling which resulted from last year's electoral fiasco. I thought then that in time a sufficiently large number of voters would come of age, that they would become impervious to the distortions, the unadorned misstatements, the omissions.

Education could be the answer, but won't be because of the control exercised over it from above. A successively better informed public is the only answer, and since all of the Great Organs of the Press reflect strictly what is handed down by the machines, the only hope lies with publications such as yours.

Do direct articles at the kids, teen agers, and when segments of the population are taken for collective sleigh rides in one way or another, to hell with this business of gently chiding them because some nitwit propagated the erroneous idea that people simply won't stand being lectured to harshly. I say that when the occasion requires it, you apprise the people exactly to what degree they have been taken for suckers.

Harold B. Somer

Wallace in Phila. (cont.)

PASCAGOULA, MISS.

I am especially pleased by Mr. Wallace's Philadelphia message. If he and all of us will follow through on that line of thought, we will be amazed at how many, instead of how few, friends and votes we will win. There is plenty of discontent and confusion, and we should provide organization and leadership. But not "goats" and "whipping boys" for the enemies.

Cecil L. Horton

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

The Wallace speech is excellent. Henry Wallace is so right when he condemns absolutism and those who would make the Progressive Party a hate party. I believe this is one of Henry Wallace's greatest speeches because it relates so clearly what the Progressive Party stands for.

John L. Holman Jr.

NEW YORK, N. Y.

If the socialists had used the Bible as Wallace suggested, they would have annihilated the opposition which comes from the church. There is no book which emphasizes righteousness as the Bible, although it contains much evil. If all the revolutionary ideas of the Bible were emphasized in pamphlet form or with short articles it would put the hypocrites out of business. Wallace's "Damn the Absolutes" should be the watchword of progressives. The mystics and the absolute are a curse to progressive education.

T. Clucas

Kiss and make up

LEXINGTON, KY.

Since we committed the most infamous war crime of history by atom bombing Nagasaki and Hiroshima—when a beaten Japan was suing for peace—we have been terrorizing a horror-frozen world with the atomic bomb. But it proved only a magnificent bluff. The blasting away of a mountain to clear the way for a vast irrigation project proved that Russia too possessed the bomb. Now the bluff is up—and the world laughs at us. Mr. Vishinsky suavely inquires: "What now?" It seems about time we essayed as brave a grin as possible and attempted a reconciliation.

Giles Cooper

Buchman at work

JACKSON HEIGHTS, L. I.

The report on Buchman and the "Moral Rearmament" goings on reminded me of the "house parties" and meetings held by Buchman in the '30s.

In a Sunday night service in New York, a Buchmanite urged unhappy, dissatisfied workers to leave their jobs and wait for "guidance" to find another. I asked what happens to the worker if he is unemployed for some time—would the Buchmanites support him, get him a job, or what? I was told that that would depend on how other members were "guided."

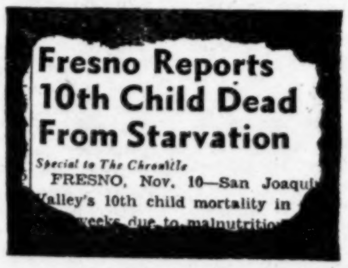
Case histories of labor difficulties seemed to show that matters were settled satisfactorily only after employes "changed their attitudes," admitted their errors, formed a company union and this—as you can imagine—caused the boss to change his attitude!

Sybil Ray

In midst of plenty

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Starvation in the heart of California's most fertile food-producing area apparently isn't considered of major news interest by our great commercial dailies. The San Francisco Chronicle did have this small


Fresno Reports 10th Child Dead From Starvation

Special to The Chronicle

FRESNO, Nov. 10—San Joaqu[in] Valley's 10th child mortality in ... weeks due to malnutritio[n]

notice printed near its financial section.

Irving Perlman

See Richards, p. 7. Ed.

Tainted tint

CHARLOTTE, N. C.

Following up on Sidney Margolius' article "How to Buy Eye Glasses" (Nov. 7):

Dr. Alfred Cowan, professor of ophthalmology, University of Pennsylvania Graduate School of Medicine, stated implicitly that there is no scientific proof whatsoever for the claim that so-called "tinted glasses" shut off "harmful" rays and that such qualities may be attributed to dark glasses only.

So this turns out as another racket. It is unfortunate that those very expensive and useless glasses are literally forced upon the innocent layman as a necessary protection to their eyes and that many opticians have fallen victims to this illusion.

O. Hoke, M. D.

China's another story

BAY CITY, MICH.

Cold-war propagandists, I feel, have encountered a major obstacle in the upset in China. Socialism in Russia and eastern Europe has been defamed and smeared very successfully in the U. S. and Britain, chiefly because a century of British imperialistic propaganda has taught the English-speaking world to despise the Slav.

But now we are face to face with a socialist China. No such effective groundwork of hate for China has been laid in the U.S. In fact, the opposite is the case. Fully a generation of Americans have learned to respect and admire the Chinese and their ancient, mellow culture.

Sooner or later the cold war boys will attempt to launch a campaign of hate against the Chinese. I predict it will fall as flat as Truman's campaign promises.

J. J. O'Neil

Who said that?

1. "The conclusion of today's agreement is an epochal event. It is a turning point in the struggle of all nations which love order and civilization against the powers of destruction. . . . This agreement is a guarantee of peace for all the world."

2. "The Pact has no hidden aims. It is directed against no one. It is an instrument placed in the hands of peace and civilization."

3. "This Pact is a powerful defense arrangement. It is not directed against anyone."

4. "The shadow of our planes will darken the sky."

5. "The shadow of our air power can be cast over any part of the world."

6. "We must never forget that the regents of present-day Russia are common, blood-stained criminals; that here is the scum of humanity, which . . . has exercised the most frightful regime of tyranny of all time."

THE ANSWERS

• Some of these statements were made by Axis leaders before they precipitated the bloodiest war in history; others by Anglo-American leaders four years after the war was "won." Here is the key:

1. Nazi Foreign Minister Ribbentrop after signing the Anti-Comintern Pact, Nov., 1936.
2. Mussolini's Foreign Minister Ciano, same period.
3. British Foreign Minister Bevin, 1949, referring to the North Atlantic Pact.
4. Mussolini after signing Anti-Comintern Pact.
5. U. S. Air Force chief, March 1, 1949, referring to the arrival of his atom-bomb squadron in England.
6. Adolf Hitler, Mein Kampf.

Report to readers

The N.Y. elections —a second look

By John T. McManus

AT THE first public hearing of the newly re-elected New York City administration last week, Mayor William O'Dwyer sounded off.

The hearing was on the capital budget of the city for 1950 and the voices seeking to be heard represented, as always, those who demand schools, hospitals, housing, playgrounds, clean streets and better transit, against those who oppose these things in order to keep taxes down on the giant real estate holdings which typify New York City.

But the Mayor's post-election wrath was not directed at the budget-cutters and the tax savers. For them he had only gentle words for their "fairness" during the election campaign and the reassuring message that "I have a good feeling that we have the same objectives."

INSTEAD, Mayor O'Dwyer sounded off against the American Labor Party and its candidate for mayor, Congressman Vito Marcantonio.

O'Dwyer announced a "finish" fight against the ALP and a determination to defeat Marcantonio for Congress in 1950.

Characteristically, Marcantonio slashed back, welcoming the fight for his Congressional seat and commenting that it will not be long before the people of the city catch on to "the Little Nero at City Hall who is still fiddling while the children of New York City have to attend fire-trap schools."

"The fact that he singles out the ALP for attack," Marcantonio commented, "proves that he is smarting as a result of the truthfulness of the charges we made against him during the campaign."

O'Dwyer broke with the ALP two years ago, over his determination to desert New York's traditional 5c fare. The two old parties then set out to demolish the ALP. A state law was passed, the Wilson-Pakula Law, preventing any political party from endorsing the candidate of another party or entering another party's primary without consent of the party leaders. Under this law both Republicans and Democrats have accepted Liberal Party endorsements but have shut down on ALP, seeking to isolate it.

Thus ALP's 356,423 votes in the recent mayoralty election, as Marcantonio correctly commented on election night, "definitely defeat the conspiracy to destroy the ALP."

HOW much of a setback to Tammany the ALP's 356,423 votes amounted to was becoming clearer this week, as analysis of the vote by districts proceeded. Not only did the ALP total represent a gain of 100,000 over the ALP's last mayoralty vote (1945) and a fractional increase over the Wallace percentage in 1948, but it represented a shift in voters' preferences toward ALP in significant areas.

In the one district lying entirely in Negro Harlem, for example, Marcantonio polled 39% of the vote as against Wallace's 12.7% in 1948, and ran almost even with the Democrats, whose vote shrank from 19,000 in 1948 to 8,500 this year. The Negro voters, defrauded by Truman's abandoned civil rights program and mercilessly attacked by O'Dwyer's cops, turned to ALP despite the most intense red-baiting and terrorization in the campaign.

Gains such as this for ALP were countered in some other areas where voters who backed Wallace in 1948 turned to other voting lines in their determination to defeat John Foster Dulles, running for Senator against Democrat Herbert H. Lehman. Since many such voters subordinated all other issues in the campaign to this, they tended to vote for Lehman on a straight ticket. This kept them off the ALP line, which had no candidate for Senator. The Liberal line was the major beneficiary but these votes are only "borrowed" from the ALP rather than lost to it.

THUS the ALP emerges from the N. Y. campaign solidly strengthened in significant new areas. Tammany knows this, as evidenced by O'Dwyer's blast of last week.

What Tammany knows further is that the 1949 O'Dwyer vote represents a comedown from his last race. In 1945 he got 57% of the vote with the ALP backing him. This year he got only 49%.

Thus the Democratic machine hold on New York City's top administration lacks the support of a majority. And the City Council (formerly elected by Proportional Representation but thrown back into machine politics this year for the first time since 1937) now has 24 members representing less than 50% of the voters.

While O'Dwyer plans to go to work on Marcantonio's congressional seat, the ALP in N. Y. is going to work on Tammany's slippery half-Nelson on the ancient and honorable concept of government by consent of the governed.

Correction

GUARDIAN erred last week in stating that Herbert H. Lehman, victorious Democratic candidate for U. S. Senator, ran 200,000 votes behind William O'Dwyer, Democratic candidate for Mayor, on the Democratic line on New York City voting machine. Lehman ran 82,600 votes behind O'Dwyer.

Peekskill spreads to Chicago

Anti-Jewish violence sweeps South Side

(Chicago has just suffered a horror equaling and in some respects exceeding the horror of Peekskill. The press has never told the whole story. City and U.S. officials have been silent. GUARDIAN herewith tells what happened.)

By Rod Holmgren
GUARDIAN Staff Correspondent

CHICAGO

AARON BINDMAN is secretary-treasurer of Local 208, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, CIO. William Sennett is a salesman of sports goods.

Friends for many years, the two recently bought a two-apartment building at 5643 S. Peoria St. On Oct. 12 they moved in with their families—Bindman on the first floor with his wife, Sennett above with his wife and two little girls. Bindman and Sennett are both veterans of World War II. Both are Jewish.

SIGNAL FOR THE MOB: On Tuesday evening, Nov. 8, Bindman held a small reception in his home for a Hawaiian member of his union, Yas Uki Arakaki, who was on his way home from the CIO convention at Cleveland. He invited 18 shop stewards from Local 208, including eight Negroes.

As if by signal, a crowd gathered in front of the building. Men and boys ran through the neighborhood saying that Negroes had bought the house. Some said Jews had bought it for Negroes.

"We'll tear it down"

Bindman went out to speak to the people. A man named Ed W. Burns of 5504 S. Halsted St., a haberdasher, seemed to be a ringleader. He told Bindman: "If you want to keep on living here, you'd better get those niggers out." Another, Frank K. Curtis of 1040 W. Garfield Blvd., a Chicago Park District clerk, said: "God damn you, get those people out of there or we'll tear down the place."

POLICE NO HELP: The mob shouted insults at Bindman, Negroes and Jews. They threatened to burn the house, attack the occupants.

Bindman went inside, called police. He insisted they arrest Burns. They took Burns and released him at the station house. When the police had gone, another crowd gathered. Again the police were summoned, did nothing to disperse the crowd. Bindman's Negro guests were escorted home; the mob milled around in the street until 2 a.m.

The next morning a group of South Side citizens went to Police Headquarters to demand protection. Commissioner Prendergast, his deputy and Capt. Crane, chief of uniformed police, were "unavailable."

NEXT TARGET, JEWS: That night about 200 people gathered at the house. Four policemen were on hand; they refused to take action. Repeated telephone protests brought more police, and for a short time the street was clear. During the night stones were thrown at the building. The crowd broke up about 1:30 a.m.

By Thursday the whole neighborhood knew definitely that Negroes had not bought the house and that the occupants intended to live in it, not sell it. Anti-Semitism then became the major theme of jeering and shouting: "Look at the nigger-loving sheenies!" "Lynch the Jews!" "Let's start a race riot!" "Hitler didn't burn enough Jews!"

Peak of the hate

Thursday night the mob fever rose rapidly. At 8:30 a crowd of 200 rushed the house, yelling: "Let's go in and kill some Jews!" Three policemen stood near the door. They didn't touch their nightsticks as the mob leaders reached the steps, decided to withdraw. The ringleaders were clearly visible. Not an arrest was made.

COPS MAKE AN ARREST
The mob was well organized

Six carloads of police arrived. Still the mob was not dispersed. Later stones began to fly; four windows were shattered on the first floor, two on the second. Perry Winokur, a friend of Bindman, was hit by a rock as he stood in a front room.

VICTIMS VICTIMIZED: Two rock throwers were arrested, but the stoning continued late into the night. Other friends of the two families—trade unionists and Progressive Party members—moved into the crowd, quietly urging people to go home. Two of the Progressives were jailed for "disorderly conduct." Others were beaten by hoodlums in plain sight of the police. Any "outsider" was waylaid and often beaten up.

On Friday delegations from unions, the National Lawyers Guild and Civil Rights Congress went to see Mayor Kennelly and Commissioner Prendergast. The officials told them: "Everything will be all right if Bindman and Sennett just keep their friends from the Progressive Party away."

The barricades

At one point Friday night the mob was estimated at 4,000. Police barricades were finally erected, kept the crowds a block from the house. Even so, there was serious violence. A car driven by a Progressive woman was overturned. Passers-by were questioned: "Are you a Jew? Are you a Communist? Are you a Wallaceite?" One man's wallet was snatched, his Progressive Party membership card scanned. Then he was beaten, his eyes blackened, several ribs broken. He was a Jew—Harold Mason, a business man.

'ACCIDENTAL' BRUTALITY: Sixteen Progressives were arrested Friday night, Nov. 11. Three hoodlums were also taken to the Englewood station house. Police "accidentally" tossed one of the Progressives, Randy Shortall, a student, into the cell with the hoodlums. For five minutes they beat him viciously, blacked both his eyes so that he couldn't see. Then the police took him out, saying "Sorry."

Four of the Progressives were released on bail. At 3:30 a.m. eight friends arrived to arrange bail for the other 12. Four men stayed outside to watch the cars. At that moment seven hoodlums drove up in a new Chrysler and went into the station to bail out the three mobsters. Then Randy Shortall was led out, beaten and bloody. He said one of his attackers had a bandaged hand.

COPS IN FRONT SEATS: The seven hoodlums emerged with the three men they had bailed out; one had a bandaged hand. The Progressives were noting the license number of the Chrysler when a hoodlum stepped up, said: "You want some numbers, I'll give you some numbers," and slugged "Dutch" Elman, knocking him out. Perry Winokur, another Progressive car-watcher, tried to help Elman, was battered by at least four of the hoodlums. Finally he managed to pick up the unconscious Elman (who weighs 120 pounds) and escape across the street.

Others had gone inside to get police help. Two sergeants and several lounging patrolmen were not interested in the attack occurring in front of the station. One policeman finally went outside, said he couldn't arrest anybody without a warrant. The hoodlums stood around a few minutes, then drove away.

Organized violence

Pressure on city officials mounted Nov. 11 and 12. The City Commission on Human Relations was demanding that the mobs be quelled. Jewish organizations were aroused. Police began dispersing groups on the streets. By Saturday night the area around Peoria and Halstead Sts. was relatively quiet. Twenty-five teen-agers were arrested for violating a curfew.

There is no doubt that the mob actions were well organized. Shortly after Bindman and Sennett moved into the neighborhood landlords held a series of meetings in the nearby Visitation Church. They were sponsored by the Garfield Blvd. Improvement Assn.; "block captains," organized for each street, recruited members to "keep Negroes out." Window stickers were handed out—"This Property is NOT For Sale"—and appeared on most homes.

Alderman Paul Sheridan, who led City Council opposition to an anti-jimcrow housing amendment, lives across the street from the Bindmans and Sennetts. At least seven members of the Police Dept. live in the same block.

INVITATION TO SELL OUT: The Sunday after the storm subsided, Bindman had two visitors. The first was Police Capt. Walter Storms. He said he intended to "maintain law and order," then gave Bindman a card bearing the name of Frank J. Burke, vice-president of the Chicago City Bank and Trust Co. Capt. Storms said Burke was ready to buy the Bindman-Sennett building, offering a "very substantial profit." Bindman should telephone Burke. Bindman did so, told Burke firmly that he liked his home and intended to stay in it. "And," he added, "we expect to have our friends in whenever we like—and that means any of our friends."

President of Burke's bank is Frank C. Rathje, appointed to the Chicago Planning Commission by Mayor Kennelly in 1947. Rathje was confirmed after he had told the City Council he favored jimcrow covenants among home-owners. He is one of the big men behind segregation in Chicago.

It's a good old pattern

Bindman's second Sunday caller was Edward J. Nugent, Garfield Improvement Assn. "block captain." He wanted to "work things out." Nugent explained that the community had "developed patterns, and we don't want to see the patterns changed."

LEARN FROM THE AFL: "This is a tough neighborhood," he said. "It has bred some of Chicago's worst gangsters. From it have also come some of Chicago's finest labor leaders, particularly in the AFL. THEY don't invite Negroes to their homes."

Nugent tried in vain to get Bindman and Sennett to sell. "As long as you stay," he said, "you'll have to have police protection. If the police are withdrawn, you and your children will be uncomfortable."

He made it clear that the "block organization" knew all about the two men. It knew that Sennett had fought with the Spanish Loyalists, that Bindman's jeep had been used in the South Side campaign against the Foley Square trial of the 11 Communist Party leaders.

JAKE ARVEY
Having a wonderful time . . .

NOT SUPPRESSABLE: Despite almost complete suppression of these events by the newspapers in Chicago and elsewhere, protests are mounting. Organizations of unionists, veterans, tenants and religious groups are demanding that Mayor Kennelly and the City Council take leadership to end racism.

A week after the first mob action, the Chicago **Daily News** published an editorial concerning apparent police collusion. It said: "A policeman explained to one of our reporters that one batch (of victims) were properly beaten because they were Communists. 'How do you know they were Communists?' the reporter inquired. 'Because they were Jews,' the policeman explained.

Thus far the Mayor has made no public statement of any kind. Nor has anyone heard from Democratic Boss Jake Arvey, vacationing in Florida.

"No question that he's a red, chief—he keeps quotin' the Constitution!"

ROUNDUP OF THE WEEK'S NEWS

The golden people lecture world from the backs of placid camels

"Messiah on tour. Francis H. Pancovic, calling himself Krishna Venta, an itinerant lecturer who claims to be Christ, is touring the country with his wife and 'Brother Paul.' He is quoted as saying that he arrived on earth from Neophrates (a planet defunct 6,000,000 years ago) with the Causticans, the Golden People, in rocket ships. Warning: This man has a police record."

Bulletin of the
Better Business Bureau

WITHOUT any warning six U.S. Senators representing the Golden People appeared on camels near the Pyramid of Gizeh last week. Other congressmen turned up in Vienna, Paris, Puerto Rico, Hawaii, Alaska, Panama, Guam, Japan.

They looked upon the world wide-eyed. They talked as if theirs was in fact the Golden People; they spoke frequently of rocket ships; they expected a royal welcome everywhere.

In Vienna Sen. Elmer Thomas (D-Okla.) felt injured. He had been to one country, he said, where the officials "acted as if they did not know we were within 1,000 miles of the place. . . . They saw some easy money and they grabbed it. Now they want more." He hinted that he might put a stop to any more easy money by way of the Marshall Plan.

SEN. BOOR: The Senator did not name the tactless country but he had just been to Sweden. One Swedish newspaper raged: "You are a boor and a liar, Mr. Senator." Another commented acidly that Mr. Thomas did not find "the extreme reverence which he deems due an American Senator. That is really too bad for the Senator whose complexes seem to be unusually well developed."

Still another said the U.S. Senate "is certainly a high assembly, but is also a dumping ground for all sorts of quaint characters and the most ignorant country politicians from the darkest corners of the Union. And it must be pretty dark in Oklahoma."

WHO PAYS FOR THE CAMEL? The legislators were not vacationing. They were said to be investigating the state of affairs so that they could legislate more ably next session. With that in mind all expenses were paid.

Sen. Pat McCarran (D-Nev.), for instance, is chairman of the Joint Congressional ECA Committee, supervising execution of the Marshall Plan. He went to Spain (not a Marshall Plan country). According to columnist Robert S. Allen, this is where he got the money: when a U.S. product is to be exported under the Marshall Plan, ECA pays the manufacturer in dollars. If a Frenchman buys it he pays his francs into a special fund which ECA supervises for the good of that country. Sen. McCarran visited Franco on that Frenchman's francs.

Other congressmen were financed more simply by the U.S. taxpayer. U.S. Air Force Squadron 1254 (10 planes, 101 men) exists solely for junkets. It costs $130 to keep one of these planes in the air one hour. Last year the U.S. spent $755,530 on flying junkets. That included a number of missions ferrying Vice-President Barkley to St. Louis where Mrs. Carlton S. Hadley lives. His marriage to the widow on Friday was said to ease the squadron's problems.

How does Pharaoh feel about Stalin?

On a world fact-finding tour (with you footing the bills) these U.S. senators and party got hoisted up on camels for a picture during a visit to the Great Pyramid near Cairo. (L. to r.): Mrs. and Sen. Homer Ferguson (R-Mich.), Sen. Allen Ellender (D-La.), Sen. Theodore F. Green (D-R.I.), Earl Cooper, State Dept. representative, Sen. William E. Jenner (R-Ind.).

LABOR WEEK

ELECTRICAL WORKERS

Rough seas for Captain Carey

THE CIO convention had formed a committee with Sec.-Treas. James B. Carey at its head, to raid the expelled United Electrical Workers, take away their contracts, their funds, their dues and set up a rival union. The war raged in union halls and courts and at plant gates. Carey proclaimed victories everywhere and said he had 100,000 members. Bulletins from many sectors told another story.

CAMDEN STORY: The RCA plant at Camden, N. J., was a target. A membership meeting drew 3,000. In the back of the hall some 500 anti-UE men kept up a barrage of boos. Then the captain arrived. Slim, tense Jim Carey walked down the aisle. He was accompanied by Father Gordon of Villanova College, followed by men from the CIO national office, flanked by 25 city policemen.

A member asked Father Gordon why he was there. "A policeman invited me," said the Father. Carey seized the gavel but got no further than: "In the name of the CIO . . ." Members shouted: "You busted up CIO. Get out and take your cops with you."

He got out. But the meeting had been broken up.

MANY FRONTS: Carey, flanked by other policemen, appeared at the Lynn, Mass., local. Officers loyal to him had pushed through a motion withdrawing the local (largest in the union) from UE. But the members booed Carey and listened patiently to UE President Fitzgerald.

In Pittsburgh meetings of the West-

(Continued on following page)

Take off those farmer's whiskers, Harry

Truman's fakery on the Brannan Plan

As the GUARDIAN has pointed out, the U.S. is piling up vast "surpluses" of food while consumption is restricted by out-of-reach store prices and small farmers can hardly make ends meet. In the Administration's farm price-support policy lies political dynamite for the 1950 elections. Liberal commentators rightly laud the program put forward by Truman's Secretary of Agriculture Brannan, which would both bring down prices and give small farmers a break. The GUARDIAN deems it even more important to emphasize the chicanery of the Administration, which wears a Brannan false beard but makes no attempt to win passage of the program. Charles P. Coe, editor of "Facts for Farmers," here tells briefly the story of this sell-out—an issue on which a broad worker-farmer coalition to force Truman's hand is shaping up.

By Charles P. Coe

THOUGH Truman went through the motions of endorsing the Brannan program, he has signed the Anderson price-support measure which is nothing more than a slightly revised version of the "flexible" Aiken Act, with a few trimmings to make it more palatable.

Senator Anderson, a key Administration leader in the Senate and former Secretary of Agriculture, not only did not try to reconcile the measure with the Administration's Brannan promises, but openly attacked the Brannan proposals over the radio as well as on the Senate floor. No effort was made by the Administration to write major features of the Brannan program, such as subsidies to lower food prices to city consumers and priority for family-size farms, into the new law.

GOP COUNTER-STRATEGY: The announced strategy of the Administration is to withhold action and make the Brannan plan a key issue in the 1950 political campaign, while blaming the Republicans for blocking it. To forestall this move and prevent Truman from making further inroads into the rural vote, the Republicans made a show of offering to continue price supports at 90% of parity.

CHARLES BRANNAN
The man had a plan

Caught short by this counter-strategy, Democratic leaders added to the confusion by quarreling among themselves. Vice-president Barkley voted with the Republicans for 90% of parity while Administration leaders Lucas and Anderson demanded low-level, flexible supports. President Truman called his squabbling party leaders to the White House; but instead of urging them to unite around the Brannan principles, he was reported to have merely admonished them against brawling in public, warning "lest the party lose the farm vote in future elections."

GOOD FOR TRUSTS: The new law violates the interest of working farmers and consumers alike. It makes no attempt to expand the market for farm products by using consumer subsidies, as the Brannan program promised, or by curbing the widening price spreads of the food trusts. By requiring farmers to cut production to qualify for support benefits it subscribes to the scarcity doctrine in its crudest form. Carrying no safeguards for smaller farms, it plays into the hands of big agriculture which seeks to push them out of the commercial market. It will aid big business in pitting the workers against the farmers by enabling food trusts to pass the buck for "high" prices on to the farmers.

Instead of full parity for all products, it prescribes only 75 to 90% of parity for the so-called basic crops, which make up no more than one-fourth of the total farm income. A few others, backed by strong lobbies, are singled out for special treatment; the rest are left to be determined by high-powered lobbying, backstage maneuvering, and political deals.

Early in the year, Henry Wallace warned the farmers against demagogy and said: "Just as butter and guns do not go together, so the Brannan Plan and the Marshall Plan cannot go together."

THE STILETTO: In the fight over price supports, farmers have been knifed in the back not only by Republicans and Democrats but also by their own organizations, such as the Farm Bureau and the Grange.

The Farmers Union was the only national organization which supported the Brannan principles. Even its lines were threatened when M. W. Thatcher, manager of the powerful Farmers Union Grain Terminal Ass'n., kicked up his heels and called upon the Republicans to back his bizarre N.A.R.A. price support program, favoring big farms and putting the main onus of reduction on the smaller farms.

(Continued from preceding page)

inghouse Local were packed with steel workers, their wives, friends and total outsiders. Pro-UE men boycotted it. Resolutions to disaffiliate were passed by acclamation but Carey's victory was hollow. The local later removed its pro-Carey officers.

In Fairmount, W. Va., the pro-UE president was attacked and beaten.

Acid test at Auburn

The Auburn, N. Y., sector was a crucial one. Farm Equipment Workers locals at the International Harvester plant had joined the United Auto Workers rather than follow their union into UE. But they found that UAW could not give them a contract nearly as good as FE-UE had won for them. Their observers returned from the Cleveland convention with a grim tale of the CIO machine run rampant. The workers reconsidered, defied the pressure of the town and voted to leave UAW for UE.

UNION BUSINESS AS USUAL: Meanwhile FE-UE considered International Harvester's proposal to adapt the Bethlehem formula to their own contract. Other negotiations continued with Westinghouse, General Electric, General Motors, RCA Victor. In each case the companies stalled on the grounds that Carey's union was a challenger in the field. NRLB elections were scheduled in many places; employers chuckled over the disruption of a strong and militant union.

In Phillipsburg, N. J., 3,000 UE workers at Ingersoll-Rand plant stopped work for half a day to protest company stalling and support of Carey's men.

SNIPERS: On Wednesday the House Committee on Un-American Activities entered the battle on Carey's side. They subpenaed UE officials Julius Emspak and James Matles to testify concerning their signing of the Taft-Hartley non-communist affidavits.

You couldn't give a better Christmas or New Year's gift this year than NATIONAL GUARDIAN.

MARITIME UNION

Angry at Curran

JOE Curran moved fast to wipe out opposition after the National Maritime Union convention last month. He fired N.Y. Port Agent David Drummond and 16 other elected officials; appointed Hulbert Warner administrator of the local. Taking unkindly to Curran's actions, seamen voted 1,297 to 3 to support the fired men.

Last Wednesday Warner left Curran's office on the sixth floor of the NMU building to move to N.Y. headquarters downstairs. More than 1,000 seamen blocked his way. He retreated to the sixth floor, barricaded himself in with other Curran supporters. Angered seamen kept them there all day while the fired officials went about their business escorted by rank and file committees. No ship lacked a crew.

CURRAN AND COPS: Drummond won a court order preventing Curran from interfering in local affairs. Unimpressed, Curran walked into a membership meeting on Thursday. Fists flew. Curran's strong-arm supporters assisted by police yanked Drummond from the platform and declared Curran chairman. Curran declared Drummond and the others fired, then left. Many seamen stayed, set up a committee to hear charges against Curran and Treasurer Hedley Stone of censoring the union paper, spending union funds for a personal limousine, sabotaging grievances and installing a friend on the payroll for a job abolished by convention rule two years ago.

One Negro sailor beaten by police earlier in the week, was turned out of a hospital when a Curran man said he was "on the commie side."

In 1947 Drummond and the other fired officials were elected with Curran's help on an anti-communist ticket. Drummond subsequently broke with Curran and led the opposition at the convention.

They all want raises

On the West Coast the AFL Sailors Union of the Pacific prepared to strike as three-month-old negotiations broke down. The union was asking for wage boosts, pensions and extended jurisdiction.

A strike of Atlantic and Gulf Coast deck officers represented by the AFL Master, Mates and Pilots Union was put off until this week while federal mediators arranged meetings with the shipowners. Chief points were the union's demands for a hiring hall for lower grade officers, wage increases and clothing allowances.

COAL

Ching gives up

A UNITED Mine Workers attorney walked into a Washington federal court last Tuesday and handed over a check for $1,400,000 and $20,000 in cash. The union was paying fines levied against it for disobeying a Taft-Hartley injunction during its strike last year. The Supreme Court had refused to hear an appeal.

The present dispute between the union and coal operators rested in President Truman's lap, thrown there by Federal Mediator Cyrus Ching. John L. Lewis ordered the miners back to the pits, threatening to strike again Dec. 1 unless agreement on pensions and wages was reached. The operators waited for Truman to call Taft-Hartley into play again.

On Thursday the President said that if he had to take any action he would use Taft-Hartley, but he was plainly reluctant. Unionists had elected him on his promise to repeal the law. Unless a settlement is reached the miners are expected to walk out again Dec. 1.

STEEL

Mill owners smile through their tears

BIG Steel watched the workers troop back to the mills last week. Mill owners reckoned up the cost of the strike and found the balance good. They had been in a fight but they didn't look it.

The Chicago **Daily News** summed up for them: "Steel enjoyed a month or two shutdown that will balance up stocks, extend the period of demand. And [for the workers] it was a vacation without pay. . . . Profits lost now will be made up later."

THE MOLD: On their side the steel workers had set a mold in which other CIO demands might be cast. It called for:

- Company-financed pensions of $100 a month including federal old age payments, for 65-year old workers with 25 years' service.
- Five-cent-an-hour insurance and welfare benefits, shared equally between management and workers.
- No wage talks until Dec. 31, 1950.

Last May Phil Murray had asked for a 30c package including an 18½ cent wage boost. Undismayed by the come-down, he called the settlement "one of the most outstanding achievements in the history of collective bargaining." **U.S. News & World Report** commented dryly: "Younger people are promised a chance to work harder for older people."

S. DAKOTA

"Loyal"—but dead

BY last week the death toll stood at four. There was no accurate count of those injured or crippled for life. At the hospital one man said: "They're coming in and out of here like cattle."

The victims were working men, employed by private contractors working under the supervision of U.S. Army Engineers on a U.S. government project: building the Fort Randall dam across the upper Missouri River near Pickstown in South Dakota, just north of the Nebraska state line.

"HELL FIRST": The casualties could be traced to the use of unskilled laborers at 85c an hour on work calling for skilled but more expensive men. Union rates go up to $2 an hour. One AFL representative, demanding that union conditions be respected, was told by a company official: "I'll see you in hell first."

Carpenters and crane operators are both paid about 37c an hour less than going rates. Operating engineers, whose union is a powerful one, are paid 10c an hour under scale.

One of the contracting companies, Silas Mason, which thrives on government contracts, insists on this loyalty oath from its employes: ". . . I hereby certify that . . . I do not advocate and am not a member of any organization which advocates the overthrow of our constitutional form of government in the United States and that I will not set a maximum limit on the amount of work that I do or any other employe does."

Report from Iron Mountain

The case of the people vs. the robber barons

By C. F. Rasmussen

ARGONNE, WIS.

I HAVE just had a satisfying trip as a delegate to the Upper Peninsula Economic and Rehabilitation Council at Iron Mountain, Mich.

The Upper Peninsula is a great triangle bordered by Wisconsin, and Lakes Michigan and Superior. Once it was rich in timber and iron and copper ore; its people are a mixture of Finnish woodsmen and farmers and Italian and Slavic miners, with a sprinkling of Scandinavians and French-Canadians. Its industries range from the Ford plant at Iron Mountain to the formerly great copper mines of the Keweenaw Peninsula and the Iron mines along the Wisconsin border. Logging was carried out over the whole peninsula.

THE SPOILED LAND: The story of the resources of this region is the story of spoliation by robber barons. Forests have been slashed and left as fire hazards. When old-fashioned logging failed to bring profits fast enough, great machines were used to bring in the timber. Huge quantities of wood are left to rot. The mines, despoiled of their rich ores, are closing down.

Unemployment now averages from 15% in the busiest areas to 40% in the copper country, with an average of 18% for Michigan as a whole—10% more than a year ago.

PEOPLE SEE A WAY: But the people of the region have a program. These are the Finns who built a great chain of cooperatives to break the grip of the "company stores." These are the lumberjacks who organized under the guns of the vigilantes, were beaten and murdered. Similar hardships have confronted the miners and auto workers at the big Iron Mountain plant.

In 1946 these people formed the Upper Peninsula Economic and Rehabilitation Council. They drew up a program and recommended it to the state and federal governments with a warning that if it wasn't carried out, the present state of affairs would follow. The government ignored the advice of the Council.

Our conference was held in the large, colonial-style Kingston Town Hall. Ivan Brown, dignified and scholarly president of the Ford local at Iron Mountain, delivered the keynote speech to 79 delegates from all the unions of the peninsula, as well as the cooperatives and the Farmers Union.

WARNING TO FASCISTS: He was followed by Joseph Callantonio, president of the Dickenson County Board of Supervisors and chairman of the Upper Peninsula Supervisors Association. He said the people wanted work, not handouts, and that members of his association had contacted their congressmen, laying out the problem and calling for action.

The main speech was delivered by John T. Bernard, former congressman from Minnesota. Bernard, now a legislative representative of the United Electrical Workers Union, warned the convention to "remain united, allow none to sow the seeds of dissension within your ranks, allow yourselves to be frightened into inactivity by no-one." He blasted the Mundt-Nixon bill and the trial of the Communist leaders. He quoted the late Cardinal Mundelein: "Beware of those who shout communism while they are building fascism."

FUTURE MUST BE BETTER: The convention passed resolutions demanding designation of the Upper Penninsula as a distressed area; government operation of the marginal mines; adoption of the Brannan plan for aid to farmers and consumers.

A permanent executive committee was set up, with action committees to be organized in every county to put the program into effect.

As I rode home across the Menominee River and down through the Aurora Homestead area in the woods of Wisconsin where the Scandinavian farmers live, I felt that the future would not be like the past. These people will not be ground into the earth; they will fight back.

C. F. RASMUSSEN is a Wisconsin progressive who took time out to write this report between his normal activities—attending numerous meetings and riding a tractor 12 hours a day.

POLITICS

LATE RETURNS

Progressive gains

IN RICHMOND, Va., the Progressive Party had almost no funds, meager organization. It ran Senora Lawson for the state legislature. She was the first Negro in 75 years to run for state office. She got 4,500 votes, 20% of the total cast.

NOWAK and HILL
They did well

DETROIT PROGRESSIVE: In Detroit, Progresisve Party candidate for the City Council, Rev. Charles A. Hill, won 70% of the Negro vote, 116,627 votes in all. Former State Senator Stanley Nowak, the other Progressive candidate, polled 109,776. Both were short of the 192,000 votes needed for election.

Two for Harry

"KISSIN' JIM" Folsom, governor of Alabama, blew kisses of farewell last week to all save Truman Democrats. Commenting on the elections, Folsom said the Republicans were through because "Wall Street isn't going to let them offer a program acceptable to the American people." Of the Dixiecrats: "There's no use discussing a political corpse." Other parties, he said, would fail to win elections because "they are not building dams for public power, they are not passing out schoolhouses and they are not passing out any highway money either." Folsom was not alone in backing all the things the Fair Deal said it would do for the people.

ANOTHER ROOSEVELT: In California James Roosevelt was for them, too; at the same time he disclaimed support from all groups "following the Communist line." Recent events had persuaded him of his errors in leading the Eisenhower boom in 1948. He recalled how successfully brother Franklin Jr. had used the family name to get him to Congress from New York. Calling for a "Fair Deal in California," he announced he would run for governor next year against incumbent Earl Warren.

THE NATION

YOUTH

YPA has steam up

LAST year 2,000 youthful enthusiasts, in Philadelphia for the founding convention of the Progressive Party, stayed to form the Young Progressives of America. Last week YPA was preparing for its second convention, Nov. 24-27 in Cleveland. Three types of problems were to occupy the delegates: young workers and job security; academic freedom; a "teen-ager's credo." Delegates' fee is $5; observers' $3.

Grown-ups too

In Denver on Nov. 27 the Colorado Progressive Party will hold a conference on "Jobs and the Economic Crisis." A recent survey by the state employment office revealed 10,000 fewer jobs now than in 1948. The conference will tackle the dangers of the economic crisis and its local effects.

LAW AND ORDER

Jiggers, the cops!

"THE rowdyism and gun-toting at the Carlsbad police convention wasn't surprising to those who have watched the New Mexico Sheriffs and Police Assn. in action. Last year's convention resembled a reunion of an Alcatraz class. The police chief and Senator Clinton Anderson almost had a first fight; a high placed state dignitary fell through a glass showcase and there was lots of fun."

Thus Will Harrison, New Mexico columnist, described present and past shenanigans of state law-enforcement officers last week. His revelations were brought on by an assault-and-battery affair between the state police chief and one of his patrolmen at the Carlsbad convention.

Harrison recalled earlier legal lapses of the law's representatives: a convention disrupted when a sheriff was caught adding an extra ace to the poker deck; an illegal statewide lottery for an automobile; publication in an Association journal of an ad for a gambling joint which had been ordered padlocked.

"It might be asked," mused Harrison, "that these keepers of the law at least be contained within legal bounds."

Slightly out of control

Down in Pascagoula, Miss., Mayor Frank Canty paid a $50 fine for public drunkenness. It was his second recent offense. A recall petition was being circulated.

One citizen wrote the GUARDIAN: "He was also mayor in 1939 when the shipyard brought such prosperity. He promised to stop drinking and again bring prosperity. Due to forces beyond his understanding, he failed to do either."

HAWAII

They'd like to vote

HAWAII'S half million citizens pay U.S. taxes but can't vote for any but island offices. They send a delegate to Congress but he has no vote. In 1948 President Truman asked Congress to grant statehood to Hawaii. The Senate killed it. In 1949 the House Public Lands Committee revived the move; it died again.

Last week Territorial Governor Ingram Stainback called for a special convention in April to draft a state constitution; islanders could then force congressional action. Election of delegates will be held in March. Jack Hall, regional director of the CIO longshoremen, said the union (30,000 members, the strongest in the territory) would campaign in the election and may run its own candidates.

THE TRIALS

Try, try again

IN U.S. courts in San Francisco and New York last week old legal battles were renewed. Talesmen of the two cities were prepared for long trials in which they would hear much about communism and Russia.

BRIDGES OFF AGAIN: "Here we go again," said Harry Bridges, president of the CIO International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, as he entered court in San Francisco. Twice before the U.S. tried to have Bridges deported as a Communist.

Bridges and two ILWU officials, J. R. Robertson and Henry Schmidt, are accused of perjury for telling naturalization authorities in 1945 that Bridges wasn't a Communist. If it can get a conviction, the U.S. intends to revoke Bridges' citizenship and deport him—an outcome prayerfully sought by shipping interests which have consistently lost strikes to Bridges' unit. Picking a jury took the first week.

JUDITH COPLON
The second ordeal

JUDY AT FOLEY SQUARE: In the same courtroom where the 11 Communists were tried, Judith Coplon sat at one end of the defense table, Valentin Gubitchev at the other. Though codefendants charged with conspiring to commit espionage for the Soviet Union, they ignored each other. Gubitchev

See Gene Richards (p. 7)

FPC slips big project to California public power foe

By John B. Stone

WASHINGTON

LELAND OLDS, staunch supporter of public power, was hated by all the private utility companies. They succeeded in having the Democratic-controlled Senate remove him from the Federal Power Commission.

On Nov. 10 came the first pay-off of this coup. By unanimous vote the FPC awarded an $84,000,000 dam project on the Kings River in California to the Pacific Gas & Electric Co., which fought the development of public power from the beginning.

The decision stunned the staff of the Interior Dept. Bureau of Reclamation. The department had been slated to build and control the project as part of the vast Central Valley development, a sort of TVA for California's Sacramento River Valley.

BUREAU'S BAFFLED: Bureau staff members see the award as a renunciation of the Democratic Party's platform stand in favor of more TVA projects, and as a threat to the existence of the Sacramento-San Joaquin delta region as a fertile farming area. The public will pay through the nose for water and power developed by the private company.

Puzzling to the bureau was the action of Mon C. Wallgren, President Truman's choice to replace Olds on the FPC, who voted in favor of the award.

"We are baffled," a Bureau spokesman told the GUARDIAN. "Wallgren comes from Washington which is plugging for its Columbia Valley Authority and needs it. The difference between him and Olds seems to be this: they are both public power men but Olds was on his toes every minute and knew just what he was doing." The plain inference is that the Bureau thinks Wallgren didn't know what he was giving away.

TRUMAN EXPLODED: In handing the project to big business, the FPC overruled its own trial examiner who had recommended: "Development of these resources should be undertaken by the federal government."

MON C. WALLGREN
What's a dam or two?

To justify its action, the FPC quoted a comment by President Truman last Aug. 29 on a preliminary report by the Bureau of Reclamation: "The reports do not contain sufficent information with respect to engineering and economic feasibility to justify their approval as a comprehensive valley plan."

This excuse was exploded by a spokesman for Michael Straus, Reclamation Bureau commissioner, who told the GUARDIAN that the preliminary report made no attempt to cite economic justification for the project. But, he said, a later detailed report—available to the FPC before it made its decision—did just that.

WHAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN: Actually, work on the Central Valley development began in 1934 and covers a whole network of tributaries to the Sacramento Valley. The detailed report showed that the project would give more water to 2,000,000 acres now inadequately irrigated; bring water to more than 3,000,000 acres not now irrigated; and protect 360,000 acres of the most fertile land in the world, now threatened by salt water from San Francisco Bay.

In addition, it would provide vast quantities of critically needed hydroelectric power.

"Of course," said a Bureau of Reclamation spokesman, "the Central Valley authority could function without the Kings Valley sector. It is like a human body. It can function with an arm cut off. But not as well as with both arms."

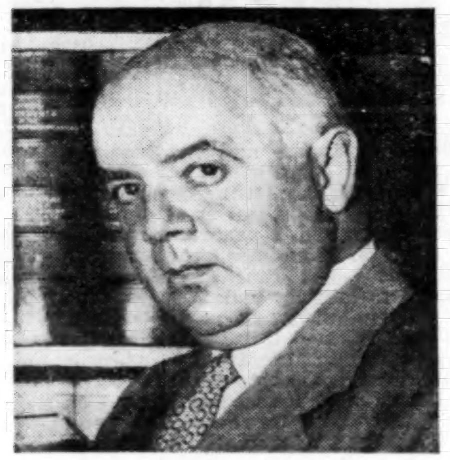
But the question for the people is: Have private utilities completely captured the Federal Power Commission?

also ignored the court, claiming UN immunity. He had no lawyer and would offer no defense.

Judy's fight last week was to avoid a second trial. Already convicted in Washington as a spy, she claimed double jeopardy and illegal arrest. Agents admitted that when they arrested the pair they had no warrant, no proof of their suspicions. They saw the two meet; Defense Attorney Palmer said it was love. The judge denied Judy's motions, said the jury must decide.

Hiss vs. Chambers

On Thursday Alger Hiss also went to Foley Square, to be tried again on U.S. perjury charges. A hung jury last



J. PARNELL THOMAS
Gamblers first

July left unsettled the test of truth between the former high State Dept. official and Whittaker Chambers, self-avowed ex-spy and an ex-editor of **Time.** Chambers had told of a "Communist apparatus" which filched State Dept. documents for Russia in the 1930's, and insisted Hiss was in on it.

Hiss' fate this time is up to a jury of eight women and four men.

FREEDOM VS. VAGRANCY: Irwin Edelman has been arrested 12 times in one year for speaking and distributing literature in Los Angeles' Pershing Square (GUARDIAN, Oct. 31). Last week the city asked a jury to convict him as "a vagrant, to wit, a dissolute person," Edelman's crime had been to hand out his own pamphlet, **The Myth of the Iron Curtain,** and copies of the GUARDIAN.

Witnesses against him included a professional heckler once convicted for burglary and extortion, a former liquor store manager once convicted in a conspiracy case, and a dozen policemen who said Edelman had insulted the Pope.

The jury convicted Edelman as a "vagrant," but the judge was forced to declare unconstitutional the law barring distribution of literature. Edelman, ready to go to the Supreme Court, said: "With Tom Clark on the bench, I don't have too many illusions."

FOOTNOTE ON JUSTICE: Some people say the "P" in J. P. Thomas' name stands for "Postponement." Last week the former House Un-American Activities Committee chairman won another delay of his trial on charges of taking kick-backs from his employes. Earlier postponements were due to the Congressman's health; this time his lawyer was busy defending an alleged gambler.

FARM

FARMERS UNION

Tories in washroom

"STRONG men cursed and wept when the results of the voting were announced," wrote W. H. Nienaber of Gully, Minn., to the GUARDIAN. Nienaber was a rank-and-file delegate to the recent state convention of the Minnesota Farmers Union at St. Cloud.

Einar Kuivinen, beloved long-time president, a solid progressive and supporter of Henry Wallace, had gone down to defeat.

Replacing him was Roy Wiseth. He won with the power-house support of top bureaucrats of the big Farmers Union cooperatives, plus the backing of the Americans for Democratic Action wing of the Democratic Party.

VEILED BLACKMAIL: How did it happen? James Youngdale, midwest progressive leader, wrote: "Although the only accusation made on the floor against Kuivinen was that of 'administrative inefficiency' based on a current treasury deficit, washroom gossip promoted by the opposition dealt with red-smearing and with thinly-veiled blackmail that the big co-ops would not make funds available if Kuivinen were re-elected.

"Kuivinen supporters, taken by surprise, were unprepared to meet the double-dealing campaign unloosed by the opposition, which talked 'unity' on the convention floor but spread all kinds of anti-red and anti-Wallace stories."

MACHINE AT WORK: A prime mover of the opposition was M. W. Thatcher, general manager of the conservative Farmers Union Grain Terminal Assn. On the convention floor he said the GTA had no interest in backing particular candidates. In the corridors his men were lining up the vote for Wiseth.

The Farmers Union is the only consistently progressive farm group in the nation. Many rank-and-filers saw a well-prepared, long-range effort to make their union a new appendage of the Democratic Party, which just tied CIO to its tail.

You'll find stories in the GUARDIAN you'll find in no other paper.

See John Stone (p. 6)

11 kids die of hunger in lush California valley

By Gene Richards
GUARDIAN Staff Correspondent

LOS ANGELES

WORRIED California employers and officials hemmed and hawed last week at a series of investigations into the deaths of 11 children of migrant laboring families and argued it wasn't starvation that killed them, but the criminal negligence of parents.

Inquests were scheduled in three counties in the fertile San Joaquin Valley—five in Fresno County, five in Kings County and one in Kern County. That's where the youngsters, mostly infants, have perished of malnutrition during the past two months of the cotton picking season.

MEAGER RELIEF: Embarrassed officials, clucking at the "notoriety" threatened by an invasion of reporters, spoke vaguely of parental neglect, ignorance and wasteful spending in poolrooms.

San Joaquin's huge corporation-owned ranchos pay $3 per hundred pounds during the cotton picking season. But in shifting from one job to another, and especially in the bleak periods between crops, families are at the mercy of whatever meager relief the county affords.

One unemployed mother of seven, whose youngest died of malnutrition, testified at the inquest that her relief check had been only $40 a month since last May.

PEOPLE LIKE THAT: In another county, newspaper investigators were refused relief figures by the director of welfare, who suggested information be sought instead from the local taxpayers' association, a private organization formed to save relief dollars for growers who want migrants to move on when the season ends.

The director, explaining that not even emergency relief was given usually without first carefully check-

ing local growers concerning migrants' possible needs, said: "You can't tell with that type of people. You can't tell whether they have money in their pockets or not."

It is estimated that approximately half the migrants are brought in by labor agents from the midwest and Mexico. The rest are more or less permanent residents of the area, shifting with the crops.

TOBACCO ROAD: A House labor and education committee, meeting in Bakersfield to investigate farm labor, was due to hear descriptions of living conditions for migrants that rivaled the sordid saga of the California treatment of the Joads during the miserable thirties.

Families are crowded into dirt-floored shacks that dot the highways and rim the orchards and cotton fields. Many structures are unprotected against rain and cold because of broken windows and sagging doors and walls. Many workers live in tents. Outdoor toilets of an ancient type are hopelessly inadequate.

Reverend Frank F. Reys of the Home Missions Council of California reported he had seen ragged children starving and begging for food. He suggested federal aid.

BRINGING MORE IN: Other individuals and groups, including the Independent Progressive Party and unions, were asking Gov. Earl Warren for a special session of the legislature to take up the migrant suffering and potential mass unemployment with other problems.

Not so concerned was Vernon E. Timmons, manager of the Chamber of Commerce in Hanford, where Kings County officials still were bringing in loads of new migrants and Mexican nationals despite mounting unemployment.

To Timmons the plight of the on-again-off-again labor brigade was its own fault. "It's hard to educate that class of people," he explained. "Cotton pickers live a hand to mouth existence and want it that way."

Dr. Walter A. Rohlfing Jr., director of the general hospital in Fresno, was one of the few official spokesmen of the area who didn't try to duck. "Unquestionably," he said, "the underlying factor in all of these deaths was that the babies were underfed."

CIVIL LIBERTIES

ILLINOIS

No dough for jimcrow

NEGRO children in Argo, Ill, a suburb of Chicago, go to the Argo Public School, white children to the Graves School, five blocks away.

Last week the Argo Parent-Teachers Assn. and the Illinois Civil Rights Congress asked Cook County Superintendent of Schools Simon to abide by Illinois law and withhold state aid funds from Argo schools until jimcrow was ended. Superintendent Simon postponed hearings, left word he was ill, but finally yielded to pressure. Jimcrow schools in Argo would get no Illinois funds pending a hearing.

WISCONSIN

Cut-rate lives

JAMES RANCHER, 24, went home to Milwaukee from the war in the Pacific and settled down to learn the shoe-repair business under the GI bill. He thought it would be a good idea to have some life insurance.

Wisconsin has a unique State Life Fund, set up by law in 1911, which is supposed to sell insurance to all physically qualified citizens at reasonable rates. Rancher applied for a $1,000 policy.

LIFE IS TOO SHORT: Back came a letter of rejection from State Insurance Commissioner John Lange: "The mortality on insured Negro lives is at least 50% in excess of the mortality on insured white lives." It was a straight refusal to sell to Negroes.

Rancher brought suit in Federal Court under the 14th Amendment, which forbids states to "abridge the privileges" of citizens. At the same time, State Attorney General Thomas Fairchild sought an anti-discrimination ruling in a state court to forestall federal action. He said:

"Discrimination against Negroes in housing and medical care is an important cause of the fact that life expectancy of Negroes is decidedly shorter."

STATE GETS A STORM: The Rancher case stirred up a tempest. Leroy Simmons, only Negro in the Legislature, said he would apply for insurance and threatened to blow the set-up wide open if he didn't get it. The Madison **Capital Times** commented: "This country still lives under a Constitution—not under an insurance company's actuarial table."

To Rancher the idea of jimcrow life insurance was plain nonsense. "I didn't have any guaranteed round-trip ticket when I was out in New Guinea and the Philippines," he told the GUARDIAN.

MISSISSIPPI

Ten clean dollars

JEFFERSON Military College, Washington, Miss., which recently turned down an endowment of $50,000,000 rather than teach "Anglo-Saxon and Latin-American" supremacy, last week accepted financial support from another source. A 72-year-old Negro woman, daughter of slaves, crippled by infantile paralysis, gave the college $10. There were no strings attached to her endowment.

MEXICO

Good guys win

MINING towns in southern New Mexico are tough and grubby; miners are mostly Mexican-Americans; sheriffs are white and mean, their guns hair-triggered.

Six months ago Ruben Arazola

(Continued on following page)

How are you eating, neighbor?

One half of the nation deprived of a decent living

By Tabitha Petran

IN 1937 Franklin D. Roosevelt saw "one-third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished."

The Bureau of Labor Statistics says that $57.50 a week is the minimum to maintain an average family decently today. According to a Report on Low Income Families issued last week by the Congressional Committee on the Economic Report, based on Census Bureau data, nearly half (17,500,000) of all U.S. families earned less than $57.50 a week in the boom year 1948.

In other words, Roosevelt's third of a nation should be amended to read, "one-half of a nation."

THE LOWER THIRD: The Congressional Committee found that in 1948 25,500,000 families earned less than $77 a week, the amount seen as necessary for an average family's minimum living standard by the respected Heller Committee of the University of California. But it focused on the lower third of the nation: those who earned less than $40 a week.

It found that 10,000,000 families and nearly 6,000,000 individuals (38 million persons) earned less than $40 a week in 1948. This was the breakdown in the Report:

CITY FAMILIES: Two thirds of these families lived in cities and rural non-farm areas. Forty per cent were in the South.

In the spring of 1948 one in six of these families was spending less than $5 a week per person for food. With this amount, the Report says, "it was difficult to buy a nutritionally adequate diet without careful management."

City families spent 50c of every dollar earned for food. To get enough food, they had to buy food poor in minerals and vitamins. They bought 50% more grains and cereals than higher income families. But they consumed 20% less milk, fruits, and vegetables; 15% less eggs, meat, poultry, and fish; 10% less bakery products.

"All this talk about a coming depression doesn't scare me a bit . . . I went broke during the boom!"

Many lived in miserable slum dwellings. Some spent up to half their income in rent.

$19 A WEEK AND UNDER: Four million families and 4,000,000 individuals (16,000,000 persons) got less than $19 a week, almost a starvation level.

Almost 1,000,000 of these families held three or more persons.

They spent 74c of every dollar for food. The other 26c went for rent, clothing and other necessities.

WHO ARE THE UNDER $40's? One in eight of the city families and one in five of the farm families in the under $40 group were non-whites, mainly Negroes. Two to three times more non-white families than whites lived in slums.

A large proportion were unskilled and semi-skilled workers whose income level "may be partially explained as a result of their poor bargaining strength."

More than 25% of the families were headed by persons over 65 years old who "face the prospect of ever increasing economic distress."

Sixty-four per cent were headed by persons whose schooling stopped at the eighth grade or below.

FARM FAMILIES: More than 3,000,000 rural families got less than $40 a week in cash income. Almost 2,000,000 got less than $19.

Most of these lived in the Cotton Belt, the Ozark Mountains, the Southern Appalachians. But "disadvantaged areas" were also found in northern New Mexico and Arizona and in the Great Lakes cut-over country.

Almost 75% of male hired farm workers got less than 75c an hour 37% less than 45c. Average number of days worked (in 1947) was 177. Migratory farm labor had risen 40% since 1945.

CONCLUSIONS: The Report is an admission that the vaunted U.S. standard of living was largely a myth, even at the peak of the boom. But beyond suggesting improved education, a study of minimum wages, and listing improvements brought by the TVA, it makes no recommendations.

It ignores the developing economic crisis, makes no analysis of the underlying factors which contract the people's purchasing power while increasing productivity, does not relate the poverty of the many to the enrichment of the few.

It advocates raising income levels to "provide a larger market for our prospective farm surpluses," but does not suggest making present food "surpluses" available to these people now. It calls the unfilled wants of U.S. families "a great underdeveloped economic frontier—a new and expansible market for the products of American industry."

The frontier of the pioneers was made up of mountains and forests that could wait for development. The "frontier" of the Congressional Committee is a mountain of hungry and ailing Americans. How long will this frontier wait?

(Continued from preceding page)

drank a little too much at the Saturday night dance in Fierro; a friend tried to take him home. Deputy Sheriff Lem Watson arrested both, began to beat Arazola when he didn't move fast enough. A crowd of dancers protested.

The sheriff shot Arazola in the leg, then fired into the crowd, wounding two others. In self-defense the crowd threw rocks and overturned the sheriff's car.

MORE IN THE MORGUE: For days after that the region was under police terror. Chief Sheriff McDonald publicly deplored that more miners weren't in the morgue. He slugged a union leader who came to inquire about an uncounted number of men held incommunicado. Five were held for trial, charged with attempted arson, unlawful assembly for the purpose of rioting, resisting an officer, aiding a prisoner to escape.

For their defense, miners founded the Grant County chapter of the Association Nacional Mexicana Americana at 519 South 4th St., Albuquerque. They went to Denver to find a competent lawyer not afraid to take the case.

VICTORY: After six months they won an almost total victory: the trial resulted in acquittal for two, suspended 60-day sentences and $100 fines for the other three.

ANMA is out now for the removal of Sheriff McDonald and his deputy Watson, who, it turns out, once did a two-year stretch in a Texas prison for child desertion.

DEPORTATIONS

Topmast victory

EARLY this month four sailors on the Greek-owned Aristokratis, berthed in Baltimore, climbed the mast of their ship rather than let themselves be deported to Greece. As members of the Federation of Greek Maritime Unions, they faced execution in Greece as "Communists." Three came down and sailed on the Aristokratis bound for Formosa. A fourth is on Ellis Island and has been allowed to leave for a country of his choice. He is trying to make up his mind between Australia and Poland.

EDUCATION

Three teachers

IN 1939 U.S.-born Prof. E. V. Sittler went to Germany, renounced his citizenship and joined the Nazi Party. During the war he worked for the Nazi radio, specializing in anti-Soviet propaganda. The U. S. Army repatriated him in 1945 at U. S. expense. He testified at several treason trials and the Army let him go. He made out well, teaching German, first at Northwestern, then at Michigan College of Mining and Technology.

Early this month, Sittler was fired. He complained: "I sacrified my American citizenship to do what I thought was for the ultimate welfare of both Europe and America." The Dept. of Justice said it had no plans for prosecuting him.

ANTI-FASCIST OUT: Convicted and out on appeal without a job was another professor of German—New York University's Lyman R. Bradley. In 1946, the House Un-American Activities Committee "investigated" the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, cited Prof. Bradley and 11 others for "contempt" for refusing to turn over lists of contributors. NYU fired Prof. Bradley and refuses to reinstate him.

ANTI-SEMITE IN: Still on the job is CCNY Prof. William E. Knickerbocker. In 1946, the New York City Council found him guilty of anti-Semitic discrimination. Since then two professors protesting Knickerbocker's retention have been fired, a students' strike has been broken and several students have been arrested.

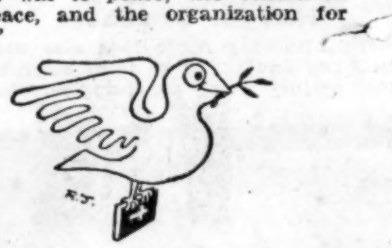
Last week Prof. Ephraim Cross of the Romance Language Division wrote to an alumni investigating committee. He declined to testify, preferring to fight in the courts to oust Prof. Knickerbocker. But, he added: "With the greatest of interest we shall watch your procedure along a path that is hard and stony for deviousness, but clear and easy for rectitude." There seemed little likelihood that the alumni would take the clear road.

RELIGION

METHODISTS

Roads to peace

PRESENT U.S.-Soviet relations, said the Commission on World Peace of the Methodist Church, "give no justification for the propagation of fear or advocacy of a 'preventive war.' But neither is peace inevitable. There must be the will to peace, the conditions for peace, and the organization for peace."



The commission met in Evanston, Ill., to plan a peace program for 8,500,000 U.S. Methodists. It urged support of the United Nations, universal disarmament and an end to peacetime military conscription. It endorsed the Marshall Plan, but asked that funds not be diverted to military ends.

The commission also urged the U.S. to extend the new Chinese government de facto recognition. The Communists, it said, were there "for years to come," missionary work was being carried on with "relatively little restrictions," and the U.S. might as well decide to make the best of it.

Quaker's-eye view

WE WERE described this month by Eric Warner Johnson, a prominent Quaker educator, at the Philadelphia meeting of Friends. We Americans, said Johnson:

". . . don't think clearly, find it hard to arrive at independent judgment and harder still to stick to that judgment in face of strong opposition. . . .

". . . naively believe that we are superior to all other nations and people. We forget that most of the people of the world are neither white, Christian nor American. . . .

". . . do not practice what we preach—democracy and Christianity. . . ."

But casting his eye over the world as he knows it, Johnson was not too discouraged. We still have "more virtue and goodness" than anyone else, he said.

LIVING COSTS

RENTS

Hold that ceiling

NEW York City landlords don't like New York City's new rent law. It sets ceilings at March 1, 1948, levels and prohibits evictions for non-payment of rent increases unless approved by the City Rent Commission.

Last week, in two cases, landlords took the law to the New York State Court of Appeals.

WHAT'S HE EXPECTING? Turning up as "friends of the court" were attorneys representing Federal Housing Expediter Tighe E. Woods. They argued that the city rent law is unconstitutional because it conflicts with the federal rent control law, which would allow widespread increases.

Defense lawyers expressed shock and amazement to find the Expediter "on the side of the landlords."

Isadore Blumberg of the New York Tenants Councils wired Woods directly, charging him with "deliberately attempting to undermine rent control in New York City and frustrating the peoples' desire to protect themselves from rapacious landlords."

The court reserved judgment.

You couldn't give a better Christmas or New Year's gift this year than NATIONAL GUARDIAN.

THE WORLD

GERMANY

Action Ouvriere, Brussels

Statue of Liberty—new edition

Acheson charm wins 'ally' for democracy

SECRETARY of State Acheson during his visit to West Germany had exercised his cordial charm on Social Democratic Leader Carlo Schmidt. Herr Schmidt used to work in the Nazi Military Government in France; Frenchmen thought the Secretary had spent his charm unwisely.

On a train speeding from Luxembourg to The Hague, a New York **Times** reporter overheard a Frenchman angrily ask two Belgians: "Who won the war?" The reporter added: "A tremor of shock has run through" the Benelux nations.

ONWARD & DOWNWARD: The U.S. press called Acheson's German pilgrimage "the turning point in post-war history." In Frankfurt, where he arrived upon conclusion of the three-power Paris conference, the Secretary gave full "confidence and support" to U.S. High Commissioner John J. McCloy. This meant, said correspondents, not only endorsement of McCloy's attacks on dismantling German factories, but full backing for his proposal to extend the Ruhr Authority to all western Europe—a plan to put European heavy industry under a U.S.-German-dominated cartel.

In the ancient streets of Bonn, Acheson was greeted by thousands of cheering Germans. U.S. and German flags fluttered side by side. Here he conferred with German leaders, emphasizing the U.S. blessing upon the Bonn State. In the rubble of Berlin, he received from the mayor of the city's West Sector the pledge: "Berlin stands with America in the fight for freedom." (Ten years ago Neville Chamberlain visited Hitler at Godesberg, just down the Rhine from Bonn.)

Steel away

Acheson's comment that it would be "weeks or even months" before all the decisions taken at Paris became known betrayed fear of public reaction as well as lack of unanimity among the Big Three. Revelations about the Paris decisions were often contradictory.

The French government, for example, insisted that the lid be kept on German steel output. But officials in Bonn said they were awaiting only the completion of French Assembly debate on foreign policy before moving swiftly, although cautiously, to lift the lid.

NEW REICH: Under U.S. pressure, French Foreign Minister Schuman agreed cautiously to meet with Bonn Chancellor Adenauer to work out Franco-German understanding. But few observers could see more than a brief life expectancy for any French government which agreed to the U.S. program for Germany.

Adenauer, permitted to announce some of the Paris decisions to enhance the authority of his Bonn regime, disclosed that dismantling was ended and restrictions on shipbuilding lifted. Bonn was to have consular representatives abroad and participate in many international organizations.

NEW REICHSWEHR: As discussions opened between Adenauer and the three western commissioners for Germany on implementation of the Paris decisions, the N.Y. **Times** front-paged a significant Berlin dispatch: EUROPEANS PONDER ARMY FOR GERMANY. The story said:

"Staff officers of a number of western European armies have been discussing the difference that the raising of even five German divisions would make to the defense of western Europe against a possible attack from the east."

Peace, it's wunderbar

The dispatch was a standard-type trial balloon, testing public reaction and conditioning it for eventual acceptance of German rearmament. Its theme was: "Without German divisions there just are not enough troops in the west to hold the Russians."

President Truman at a press conference denied that the U.S. planned to create a "small army" under the Bonn government. But he refused to affirm that U.S. policy is against German rearmament. To a specific question regarding U.S. policy toward formation of a German Army, he replied that he was not formulating German policy from his desk. He also evaded a question as to whether he would discipline U.S. officers should he find they were discussing formation of such an army with Bonn officials.

CHINA

Acheson's spot

SECRETARY of State Dean Acheson had laid down the law on recognition of the Chinese People's Republic and the British Labor government had listened. Two days after Acheson returned from Europe, Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin told the House of Commons that British recognition, up to then thought to be imminent, would be postponed. Bevin said there was "the question of the views of the U.S." Canada considered the same views, came to the same conclusion.

At Lake Success the issue could not be so deftly dodged, for New China was knocking at the door of UN politely but persistently. In a radio message to UN officials, the people's government disowned the Kuomintang delegation and said it "cannot represent China and has no right to speak for the Chinese people." UN officials said the message would not be circulated as an official document, but that any delegation could ask for and get a copy.

THE FLYING CLOUD: The day Acheson came home, the U.S. merchantman Flying Cloud was outward-bound from Shanghai, running a Nationalist blockade which neither the U.S. nor Britain had recognized. At the mouth of the Yangtze a Nationalist warship stopped her, signaled:

"Sorry I haven't authority to let you go. . . . Your government is so kind to our country, I hope you do not disturb my duty and will accept my advice to proceed to Shanghai and discharge your cargo." The flag was Chiang's. The tone was Japanese; so was the crew of the tender that came alongside.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch

CHIANG'S LAST STAND

The Flying Cloud made a run for it. The Kuomintang warship opened fire at almost point-blank range, damaged the ship. The Flying Cloud got away.

CHANGED TUNE: Communist authorities were still holding Angus Ward, U.S. consul general in Mukden, and four consulate employes for beating up a Chinese servant. The Nov. 15 night edition of the N.Y. **World-Telegram** ran a picture with the caption: "U.S. Ships That Could Blockade China Reds to Free Ward." When news of the Flying Cloud came in, the paper changed the caption: "Uncle Sam's Pacific Muscles."

Acheson was plainly on the spot. A protest had to be made to the Nationalists over the Flying Cloud; much of the clamor over Ward had lost its force. Next day he announced that a protest had been made. Said the N.Y. **Herald Tribune**: "There were indications that the protest would not be strongly worded and there would be no threat of retaliation. . . . The Ward case was viewed by the State Dept. with considerably more gravity than the Flying Cloud shelling." There would be no recognition, said Acheson, until Ward was released. On Friday, President Truman called Ward's detention an "outrage"; the Flying Cloud seemed forgotten.

NON-POLITICAL PLAGUE: Other Americans were recognizing the threat of a plague in North China. Dr. Roger A. Lewis of the Medical Committee of the China Welfare Appeal announced a fund drive to supplement anti-plague drugs and serums being produced on the spot. He said the new Republic had set up a committee to mobilize the country against the plague.

IRAN

Job for the Shah

ON Wednesday young Mohammed Reza Pahlevi, Shah of Iran (Persia), stepped from President Truman's own plane at the Washington airport. The guard of honor stood stiffly for

(Continued on following page)

Jennings Perry

The Louisiana approach

EVERY daybreak when the wind warnings are not up, a fast, twin-screw motor cruiser roars out of the flat mouth of Bayou Caddy on the Mississippi coast, bends her course westward and vanishes beyond the piney point. The five or six husky young men in her could be away for the channel bass fishing in the Louisiana passes. They are instead away to tend the rigs now probing for oil-pools under the rocking sea.

They are seeking a great treasure; their quest is under a great cloud. For the ownership of what is under the sea has not yet been settled—whether it is of the national commonwealth, or of the commonwealth of the states bordering the sea.

This week, one of the coastal states, Louisiana, filed in the U. S. Supreme Court the novel plea that the issue be tried by jury with the Supreme Court justices presiding over the trial.

THE plea is one of the many maneuvers by which the coastal states are trying to counter the nation's belatedly-asserted claim to a natural wealth worth billions of dollars. Texas has asked a special master's hearing on the title dispute.

The new Louisiana approach to the question is more particularly fascinating, since the state's brief in justification of the requested trial by jury goes beyond a definition of state's rights to propose a definition of just what a state is.

The Louisiana pleading assumes that a state is more than a legally-constituted government; that it is actually the people (presumably all of the people) who live under the government. "The state represents its people . . . the people of Louisiana, who are its citizens." As **people** the state asks protection of its rights, under the federal Constitution, to a trial by jury.

THIS is a good place to point out that other rights, far more important than the title to treasures beneath the ocean, are guaranteed to the southern people by the basic law and necessary intent of their nation. And I should think that the position taken by Louisiana in the notorious tideland oil proceedings would be very helpful to the Supreme Court when it reviews questions relating to federal protection of these rights.

If the people of a state have rights and privileges under their national citizenship that their state itself does not have, it must follow that the people have rights and privileges the state itself cannot impair.

If a state as **people** can call upon the Constitution to protect the people's property rights against federal trespass (the meat of the Louisiana brief in the oil case), the people certainly should have no less an access to Constitutional protection when their state government, trespassing upon their political rights, is unwilling or unable to cease its encroachment.

LAST week the **states** of Virginia and Texas went through the motions of constitutional referenda on the issue restoring to their people the full and free suffrage which is the people's right in the U. S. A. The motions came to naught simply because the people, having no free vote to begin with, **could not get at the issue.** The people of Virginia and Texas, and of all the poll-tax states, now look to their federal government for relief and restitution. These states as **people** have to seek protection from these states as **governments.**

"Now look, boy . . . we got democracy here and we don't aim to spoil it by letting you vote!"

Their case comes before Congress at its next meeting. Afterwards inevitably it will come before the justices of the Supreme Court — who, up to now, have ingloriously shied away from interfering with "state sovereignty."

It is nice to think that, at this next test, the court will have occasion to refer to the Louisiana contention in the tidelands brief; and to hope that it will agree with the reasoning of this brief, that the people do have Constitutional recourse transcending the powers of states. As between the nation and the states, who gets the oil matters comparatively little: but who gets the free vote, who is assured the right of election, determines the honesty of this nation which set out to be, above all else, a republic.

(Continued from preceding page)

review; 21 guns boomed. The Shah had come for "technical information," he said.

In the late afternoon he rode up Pennsylvania Av. with the President beaming at the throngs that filled the streets. (Some 215,000 government workers had been told they could leave early, by coincidence exactly when the Shah arrived. A perturbed transit official commented on the "welcoming" crowds: "A lot of them were just trying to get home.")

ENOUGH: At the state dinner, against a backdrop of a Persian rug borrowed for the occasion from the Iranian Embassy, the President learnedly referred to the ancient Medes and Persians "keeping their contracts." He implied that the modern Russians don't. He promised a "fair deal" for Iran. The Shah lost no time in asking for money and arms; that, he felt, would be fair.

Even as the President spoke, 11 U.S. corporations were dispensing the Fair Deal to Iran in a $650,000,000 "development" project. Engineers, technicians and lawmakers were blueprinting plans for railways, ports, factories. They represented a pooled organization called Overseas Consultants, Inc.; the Iran spearhead even included experts to draft new legislation. (One of their first recommendations was repeal of the law prohibiting control of Iranian enterprises by foreign capital.)

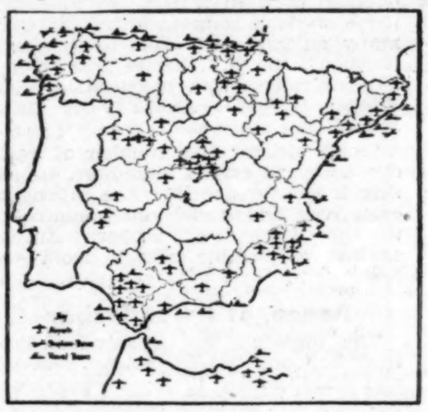
IT'S A PLEASURE: Important in U.S. plans for the "containment of Russia," Iran is overripe for "improvement." Of its 17,000,000 people, 90% are illiterate. Few spots in the world can match its poverty and disease. But it has rich oil deposits, exploited by British and U.S. companies. It would be a pleasure to protect it from "potential Soviet aggression."

SPAIN

Franco is so peaceful

THE Soviets charged the U.S. with acquiring military bases in Spain. Wearily the State Dept. termed it "typical unfounded propaganda." They explained that in the past five years the U.S. had done no more than make minor improvements on two Spanish airfields.

Dr. Edward K. Barsky, national chairman of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, last week presented documents compiled from official Franco sources and government-controlled Spanish newspapers. He counted 44 naval ports enlarged or improved in the last two years alone (cost: $860,000,000); eight seaplane bases, 91 airports constructed, enlarged or improved since 1945 (see map). He named high-ranking U.S. Army and Navy officers who toured the bases on inspection two months ago.



QUAINT COINCIDENCE: Barsky said: "The rate of growth of air and naval installations in Franco Spain since the end of the war is entirely disproportionate to the evident peacetime needs of Spain." Spanish civilian airlines have only 40 to 50 planes, "but among the airports completed are four classified as transoceanic with paved runways of more than 7,500 feet; four classified as transcontinental and seven classified as international."

At present, Barsky pointed out: "Spain has no aircraft requiring runways of this length. It is a significant coincidence, however, that our own B-36's do require runways of this size." He recalled that under the air agreement concluded with Franco in January, 1945, the U.S. has the right to use all air facilities in Spain.

BRITAIN

Jam tomorrow

THE campaign promises of Britain's Labor Party leaders hedged them in like a trap—a steel trap. The promise was to nationalize steel. To leave that key industry in private hands was to mock all socialist pretensions. To place it in public hands would at last bring the government squarely into collision with British capitalism.

NEW YORK TIMES,
NOVEMBER 16, 1949.

LABOR MEETS VIEW OF LORDS ON STEEL

British Regime Submits Bill to Put Off Nationalization Date Until January, 1951

Last week Party leaders slithered through a chink in the trap. The Commons passed a bill nationalizing steel but postponing to Jan. 1, 1951, the taking over of the industry.

Elections were to come long before then. Conservatives approved, hoping to convince the people that socialism had gone far enough. Labor Supply Minister George Strauss said the postponement was due to the "indefensible" attitude of the House of Lords.

Conservative M.P. Alfred Edwards, a reformed Laborite, said: "From now on the labor movement in every country in the world should stand by the private enterprise system—to help make a profit and then fight for a share of that profit."

TOP VS. BOTTOM: The British Labor Party was having trouble with British labor. Leaders of the Trades Union Council had applied to the workers to stop all negotiations for wage raises. But the big Confederation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Workers at York promptly announced it would continue to press demands for a raise of one pound a week. Other unions threatened to follow suit.

BIG GUY: Workers at Warrington, Lancashire, were worried about the U.S. airbase at nearby Burtonwood. It seemed the symbol of a policy. The local branch of the National Union of Railwaymen and the Communist Party teamed up for a protest parade on Guy Fawkes Day. Placards featured the "Big Guy"—not Fawkes but Uncle Sam. Said Jim Oldbury, leader of the railwaymen: "We have nothing against the Americans as visitors but we object to their presence as soldiers."

RUM FELLOW! In Clarence House near Buckingham Palace Prince Charles, aged one, had a party with a 40-pound cake flavored with rum and an orange candle. He got no cake.

EASTERN EUROPE

Tito cuts a knot

EASTERN EUROPE continued its work of reconstruction, without a let-up in the problems created by Yugoslavia's defiance of the Cominform and by the Vatican's political interference. Opportunities for the U.S. were seen in developments in these three trouble spots:

ALBANIA: For the last six weeks the little state between Yugoslavia and Greece had been the only Cominform country still maintaining a friendship and mutual aid treaty with Tito's government, though relations were far from cordial. Last week Yugoslavia denounced the pact, accusing Albania of "taking upon herself the role of provocateur in a conspiracy against . . . Yugoslavia." Greek Royalists "welcomed" the action. They have long claimed the Epirus section of Albania; Albania was now cut off from its friends.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA: The government refused to accept the reservation which the Czech Catholic hierarchy instructed priests to add to an oath of loyalty to the state: ". . . Unless it is in contradiction to the laws of God and the church and the rights of man." Interior Minister Vaclav Nosek said the authority of the Vatican would not supersede that of the state, "because in the 20th century the methods of curses and excommunications do not have any effect."

POLAND: The Central Committee of Poland's United Workers Party, a merger of Communists and left Socialists, announced that three members had been expelled for failing to carry out their political responsibilities.

They were Wladyslaw Gomulka, former Deputy Premier, Zenon Kliszko, Vice Minister of Justice, and Gen. Marian Spychalski, Construction Minister. The first two were accused of permitting "nationalist-rightist deviation." Spychalski was charged with failure to report known foreign spying activities.

The U.S. press delightedly saw "Titos" everywhere.

ITALY

No-one was using it

WAVING a red flag, 3,000 landless peasants in the Corleone region of Sicily last week invaded privately-owned untilled land and started to farm. The government in Rome, which three weeks ago had ordered police to shoot up a similar group in Calabria, ordered police to leave the Sicilians alone.

Eighteen months after his election on a platform which included land reform, Christian Democrat Premier Alcide de Gasperi said a land reform bill might be submitted to the Chamber of Deputies "soon."

You couldn't give a better Christmas or New Year's gift this year than NATIONAL GUARDIAN.

United Nations report

U.S. pours ice water on a cold war solution

GUARDIAN Staff Correspondence

LAKE SUCCESS

THE cold-war atmosphere grew icy here last week, as the Special Political Committee debated atomic energy control and one-third reduction of world armaments, and in the Political Committee the proposal by Russia's Vishinsky for a Big Five non-aggression pact was roughed up by a coalition of Western and oriental nations.

U.S. and British spokesmen suggested that, unless the Russians had a "change of heart," efforts for general arms reduction might have to be abandoned. The French-Canadian atomic-control resolution, approved by the Special Committee, calls for nothing but continuation of the deadlock while suggesting that all possibilities for a new approach be examined. Perhaps new men are needed as much as a new approach.

WESTERN BLOCK: Two trends were visible in the majority group: (1) increasing desire by small and middle powers to revolt against big-power domination and find a compromise formula; (2) increasing determination by the U.S. and Britain to prevent a compromise, by using among other arguments the "look what happened to Yugoslavia" formula to prove it is the U.S.S.R. that won't compromise.

In the atomic energy debates Vishinsky had created a sensation by describing the peaceful use of atomic energy in the U.S.S.R. U.S. delegates, unable to point to any such application of American "know-how" for the welfare of Americans, were mocking and skeptical.

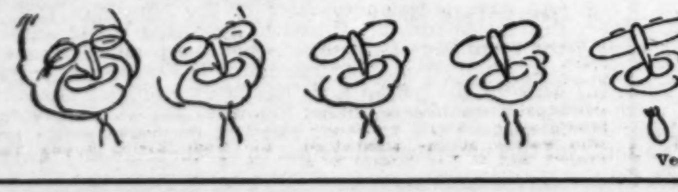
The U.S.S.R., Vishinsky emphasized, does not object to international inspection; inspectors can taste and smell atomic ore if they want; but surrender of ownership is impossible. He described the UN (majority) control plan as similar in substance to the U.S. Baruch plan. Immediately afterward, U.S. delegate John D. Hickerson told newsmen Vishinsky obviously hadn't read the UN plan.

Hickerson, Asst. Sec. of State for UN affairs, was a participant in the six-power atomic talks held behind closed doors at U.S. request. At press conferences he reacts to the words "Vishinsky" and "Soviets" in a manner reminiscent of Forrestal shortly before the late War Secretary was placed under psychiatric observation.

HAITI GIVES UP: Haiti, India, Venezuela, and Argentina tried to introduce compromise atomic-control resolutions. Others wanted to do so. All attempts failed after a series of arm-twisting private meetings called by the Anglo-Americans.

Haiti, which last year upset the imperialist applecart by casting the decisive "no" against return of colonized Libya to Italy, withdrew its atomic resolution at the last moment. The Soviets clearly intended to back the resolution after failure of their own to pass—thus opening the way for a compromise. Haiti's internal crisis plus Western pressure did the trick. The West's propaganda line that Russians will never budge was saved

Hope remains that at the next Assembly session middle powers might break away from the Anglo-U.S. bloc This was seen in statements on Thursday, amounting to "treason" in the eyes of the West, by Philippine delegate Lopez and Iraqui delegate Jamali. Lopez complained that small nations were reduced to the role of "kibitzers" while the two big contesting powers were "risking total war for total dominion." Jamali complained of "freedom of misinformation in the world today" and said the giants had created "mental and political Maginot lines."



Vespe, Austria

DOLLAR STRETCHER

Cut-price fur sales

IF YOU consider buying one of the lower-priced but sturdy fur coats like a mouton or muskrat, wait a bit longer. The trade expects a rash of sharp price cuts on such coats as a result of the triple pressures of a new U. S. tax ruling, unseasonably warm weather in many regions, and poor business.

For some time lower-priced furs were not subject to the 20% excise tax if the value of the fur was no more than three times the value of the lining. To save customers the tax, many furriers manufactured mouton and muskrat coats with exceptionally good linings. Now the Internal Revenue Bureau has reversed this ruling, says customers must pay the full tax on any fur coat. Retailers and manufacturers have been given the next three months to unload tax-free coats.

DON'T BE IN A RUSH: Watch for sales. But don't rush to buy. The price cuts will be sharper as the unloading period runs out. Even without the forced sales, fur experts except prices to drop sharply this winter because of the disastrous season.

But even so, avoid poor quality coats. Experts advise these tests: blow into the fur to see if it opens readily, showing that the fibers are flexible. Also, the fibers should lie smoothly and in the same direction throughout the coat, and the texture should be uniform, with no matted, scarred or thin areas. The fur itself should feel smooth, silky and fairly dense to the hand. Muskrat should have thick surface to protect the underfur. Another test: brush your hand against the fur to see if the color is uniform.

Muskrat and mouton (processed lamb) may be priced comparatively low, but they're warmer and more serviceable than many expensive furs.

Linen rental idea spreads

SERVICES that supply you with clean linens every week at no more than laundering cost are being introduced in many cities. Chicago, Los Angeles, Washington, Philadelphia, New York and other large towns now have them.

You need own no linens. The service will provide you with sheets, cases, towels, bathmats and tablecloths in any quantity. If you usually have your linens done by a commercial laundry, the service is a definite saving. It can afford to supply you because this system eliminates the complicated and costly requirement of keeping customers' linens separate.

But you'll still beat the rental company's price if you have your own washing machine or use a cash-and-carry launderette.

Special buy in electric clocks

ANOTHER discount house that sells through the country by mail has offered a special buy for GUARDIAN readers. This firm, Standard Brands Distributors, 143 Fourth Av., N. Y. 3, has an unusually low price for the Telechron Telelarm electric clock considered by experts one of the better. It comes in an ivory rectangular case and has a luminous dial.

This clock usually lists at $6.95 plus 20% federal excise tax, which makes the total retail price $8.34. Standard Brands offers it at $4.46. Under the tax law, by thus pricing the clock below $5, the store need collect only 10% excise, or 45 cents in this case, making the total price $4.91, a saving of 40%.

Mail orders east of the Mississippi are 35c additional; further west, add 40c. For New York City orders, add 9c for sales tax. No COD orders will be filled by the firm at this price.

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It was work and more work . . .

How the Chinese won in China

By Fritz Silber

IN 1947 Anna Louise Strong showed Mao Tse-tung a letter from a progressive American, speaking grimly of a "hard and bitter era" ahead.

The Chinese Communist leader, then preparing for the final defeats of Chiang Kai-shek, thought American progressives were "inclined to overestimate the power of the American reactionaries and to underestimate the strength of the democratic forces."

He said: "The American reactionary has a heavy burden. He must sustain the reactionaries of the whole world. If he cannot sustain them, their house will fall down . . . It is the American people who are strong, who have lasting power."

KNEW WHAT THEY WANTED: In **The Chinese Conquer China,** Miss Strong pulls together in compact and highly readable form her observations of how the popular forces in China, led by the Communists, made the house of the Chinese reactionaries fall down in spite of tremendous U.S. aid to Chiang and his corrupt cliques.

A. L. STRONG

There have been many belated "confessions" from U.S. officialdom that Chiang was indeed corrupt. But Miss Strong demonstrates that this was by no means the whole story of the people's victory.

How could the Kuomintang and U.S. planes beat down the enthusiasm of peasants who were deciding their own farm policies for the first time?

How could half-hearted Kuomintang conscripts defeat soldiers who first learned how to write in the democratic people's army? How could jittery warlord generals outmaneuver brilliant tacticians who wrote folk-verse to help their troops understand the problems, as did Gen. Liu Po-cheng:

If you keep men and lose land
The land can be taken again.
If you keep land and lose men
You lose both land and men.

TAILORED TO FIT CHINA: It is rather easy now to say: "Of course; they had to win." But Miss Strong's reports of the struggles along the way carry terrific lessons for progressives everywhere. There were exhaustive discussions of theory and Chinese variations on the Marxist theme to fit China's peculiar economic pattern; then there was work and always more work to bring the people into the revolution and the revolution to the people.

How this work was successfully accomplished is the real theme of Miss Strong's book. It is a theme of transcending importance as all Asia fights colonialism and corruption. And it is important for Americans to realize how easily they—the people—could win true allies for peace among Asia's millions, even at this late date, by insisting on U.S. policies of friendship and cooperation with the enemies of colonialism and corruption.

Because of Miss Strong's expulsion from the Soviet Union earlier this year, her new book will inevitably be regarded as controversial. To this reviewer it appears to be a valuable contribution to the documented history of China's new democracy.

THE CHINESE CONQUER CHINA. Doubleday & Co., Garden City, N. Y. 275 pp. $3.

Pots & pocketbooks

How to be happy with your turkey

By Charlotte Parks

Over the river and through the woods
To grandmother's house we go.
The horse knows the way to carry a sleigh
Through the white and drifted snow.

I REMEMBER a cooking class where someone asked the bride's inevitable question: "How can you make perfect coffee for two?" The teacher answered: "Before you try the recipe, include in your daily prayers thanks for the privilege of having someone else to make coffee for."

So this Thanksgiving carry with you the feeling of joy that you have that privilege.

The hostess who makes light of her job is the most important ingredient of any meal. How to do it? Plan every detail as a general would plan the strategy of battle.

WEDNESDAY: To get the best turkey for your money, order it beforehand and on Wednesday make the dressing, prepare the bird for the oven and bake it a little more than half the time called for. (Gas pressure is always low on holidays.) On the great day put it in the oven for the rest of the time and you'll have a bird that looks and tastes perfection.

TWO KINDS OF DRESSING: It's an idea to make two kinds of dressing instead of one—say oyster or chestnut at the neck and giblet dressing for the part that went over the fence last. Buy an extra half pound of giblets to make a wonderful gravy and enrich the dressing.

Or you may add a half pound of sausage meat instead. A tempting dressing is always demanded with the cold bird and is a big economy.

GOOD GRAVY: Scrape up the brownest part of the turkey drippings, thicken with cornstarch and add the chopped giblets and all the liquid they have been cooked in. Be sure the giblets are tender. Cook at least two hours.

THE DESSERT: Ice cream with a luscious sauce is a labor-saving end to a perfect meal. Prepare the sauce beforehand; there is always real drama in hot sauce and cold ice cream.

- 1 cup coffee
- 1 tbsp. cocoa
- 1 tbsp. butter
- ¼ cup sugar
- ¼ cup rum or 1 tsp. vanilla
- ½ cup chopped nuts

Happy Thanksgiving!

Calendar for progressives

New York

Freedom Theatre raises its curtain with Fighters for Freedom and Futurama, Saturday, Nov. 26, 106 E. 14th St. Tickets at Camp Unity office, 1 Union Sq. W., AL 4-8024.

Grube Morgenrot, exciting new German film about German miners before, during and after Hitler. First showing Friday, Dec. 2, 10:30 p.m., Stanley Theatre. Tickets $1.20, Friends of the German-American, 305 Broadway.

Paganini Quartet, three concerts featuring Haydn and Beethoven, Times Hall, 240 W. 44th St., Nov. 23, Nov. 30, Dec. 4, 8:30 p.m. Tickets: Henry Colbert, 15 W. 44th St. One concert: $1.80, $2.40, $3; 3 concerts: $4.50, $6, $7.50.

All-Schoenberg concert presented by U. S. Section, International Society for Contemporary Music, Nov. 23, 8:30 p.m. Museum of Modern Art.

Pennsylvania

West Brownsville: "Stop the Deportation Drive" rally, sponsored by IWO and American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. Abner Green and other prominent speakers. Yugoslav Hall, Friday, Nov 25, 6 p.m.

Chicago

Maud Russell, sponsored by 6th Senatorial District PP, speaks on "Old China and New China." Movie: "China—400 Million." U. E. W. Hall, 4810 W. Cermak Rd., 8 p.m. Admission free.

California

First Annual Dance of Los Angeles Radio Committee, Saturday, Nov. 26, Chase Hotel, 1725 Ocean Front, Santa Monica, 8:30 p.m. Proceeds to keep Averill Berman, liberal radio commentator, on the air. Tickets $1. Call Normandie 21624 or Cumberland 31420.

A special on the atom

Soviet Russia Today is featuring a symposium on the recently announced Russian mastery of the atom in its current issue. Participants include Dr. Philip Morrison of Cornell University, who worked at the Manhattan Project and at Los Alamos as a member of the team which prepared the first atomic bombs; Dr. Corliss Lamont, philosopher and writer; Dr. Harry Grundfest, Columbia University Professor of Neurology, and Dr. Harry F. Ward, professor emeritus of christian ethics at Union Theological Seminary. Single copies 15c from Soviet Russia Today, 114 E. 32nd St., New York 16.

Trenton and the positive approach

How to build anti-fascist unity

By O. John Rogge

Former U. S. Assistant Attorney General, author of "Our Vanishing Civil Liberties"

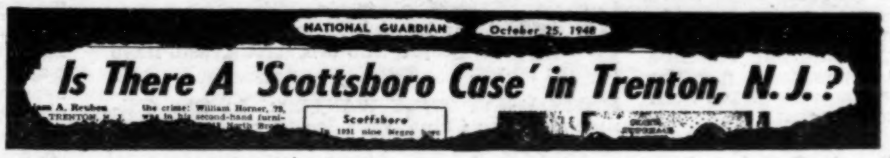
THE annual report of the American Civil Liberties Union, aptly entitled **In the Shadow of Fear,** furnishes the best available summary of what has happened to our civil rights during the past year. Excellent as the report is, I feel the ACLU does not fully understand the dangerous nature of the present attack upon our freedom and what must be done to defeat it.

One paragraph of the report relates to the six Negroes condemned to death in Trenton, N.J., on extorted confessions, for a crime they did not commit. The case, ACLU's report on it begins, "attracted wide attention when a Communist-led defense agency came to (the Negroes') aid and exploited the 'Trenton Six' as the 'Northern Scottsboro case.'"

Now the truth is that the GUARDIAN and then I myself labeled the case a "Northern Scottsboro," which indeed it was. Ironically, it was this characterization that brought the ACLU into the case.

THOSE WHO FOUGHT: The GUARDIAN called my attention to the case. William E. Reuben, covering it for the GUARDIAN, came to see me. Then William L. Patterson, executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress, engaged me, together with other attorneys, to help him represent three of the men.

Some days after I had appeared before the New Jersey Supreme Court in the case, the New York **Post** quoted the "Scottsboro" characterization. The story caught the attention of Lora Spindell. She showed the story to her father, Arthur Garfield Hays, the noted civil rights attorney, and urged him to do something. He offered me his help. Subsequently the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People and the National Lawyers Guild also filed briefs.


NATIONAL GUARDIAN October 25, 1948

Is There A 'Scottsboro Case' in Trenton, N. J.?

Scottsboro

THE NAME-CALLERS: Important as these briefs were, those who did most to obtain a reversal of the Trenton Six conviction were Mr. Patterson and the Civil Rights Congress. Yet the ACLU report does not even mention the Civil Rights Congress as such. Instead the ACLU refers to the CRC, without naming it, as "a Communist-led defense agency."

We have come to expect such conduct from un-American activities committees and from former Attorney General, now Justice, Tom Clark, who gave us four blacklists of organizations; but it is unbecoming to any organizations which profess to put human rights above property rights. There is too much name-calling these days, and not enough attention paid to the issues involved.

I do not know whether the CRC is "Communist-led" or not, whatever that label may mean. The fact that it is on one of Clark's blacklists should not carry weight with anyone. The ACLU should remember that it also objected to Clark's blacklists.

ISSUES AND LABELS: One should keep one's eyes on the issues, make up one's mind about them and then take a stand. Thereafter no one should be troubled or frightened by labels. If those of us who believe that human rights come ahead of property rights do not follow that course, we shall be splintered into helplessness.

So much of this tragic splintering has already occurred; labor is in the throes of it. The CIO has expelled the United Electrical Workers and set up machinery to try ten more unions. The vague charge is that they are following the "Communist Party line," whatever that may mean.

I say to those who believe human rights come above property rights: Let us take a positive approach. Instead of destroying ourselves by dwelling on our differences, let us rather build a united anti-fascist front by selecting issues upon which we can all agree.

LET'S EXPLOIT UNITY: I want to take the ACLU to task for the use of the word "exploited" to describe CRC's activities in the Trenton Six case. Those activities helped bring the case to the attention of the people; they held up to us the weakest and ugliest part of our culture pattern, namely, the fact that we have always shown contempt for the Negro people.

Such activities will help re-educate us finally to outgrow our white chauvinism. To describe them as exploitation is but an attempt to exploit what are regarded as differences. The report would have been more constructive if it had pointed out areas of agreement between the two organizations.

PUT THE MAN FIRST: What I have said is not limited to the ACLU. It applies equally to the Civil Rights Congress, the NAACP and the National Lawyers Guild. But it is not limited to these organizations, either. It is aimed at all organizations and persons who, to use Lincoln's phrase, put "the man before the dollar."

O. JOHN ROGGE
Let's agree to agree first

Although I criticize some portions of the ACLU report, I want to emphasize the importance of the work the ACLU is doing. In the Trenton case, however, the work of the CRC was even more important. Most important of all is that in the Trenton case the ACLU, CRC, NAACP and National Lawyers Guild took a united position.

The result was a successful reversal of a miscarriage of justice. The conclusion is that on such clear and broad issues of manifest injustice there should be a united front of all those from the center to the left.

Bessie Mitchell can't rest

Till the Trenton 6 go free

BESSIE MITCHELL has come home from telling the people about the Trenton Six. She's home, but she isn't resting. She won't rest until her brother, Collis English, and her brother-in-law, McKinley Forrest, and the other four innocent Negroes are free from the fear of death.

Two years ago Bessie Mitchell was no crusader. She was living and working in New York, going to Trenton now and then to see her family. Then, on Jan. 27, 1948, William Horner was murdered in his Trenton furniture shop; six men were arrested and beaten into "confessing," and Bessie Mitchell began her work for justice.

IT'S A BIG FIGHT: She doesn't want the spotlight now. The Trenton case is six innocent men. It's the Civil Rights Congress and its lawyers. It's the people who organize meetings and hand out leaflets and sign petitions. It's the whole big battle against jimcrow, Peekskills and lynchings, the struggle for a land of decency.

But Bessie Mitchell has to take the spotlight because she represents all these things to thousands of people who have been hearing her all over the country.

Proudly she shows a scrawled invitation to speak at a church in Portland, Ore. "Those are the real people." she says. On the back of a handlettered poster for another meeting is a note from the artist pledging his support. From her handbag comes a photograph of a girl in Tucson, Ariz., who enlisted Mrs. Mitchell in the campaign to end discrimination against Mexican-Americans.

JUST A JOB: In Ogden, Utah, she saw a Negro FBI agent watching her meeting. "Why do you do this," she asked him, "hurting your own people?" He mumbled something about "just another job."

For three months Mrs. Mitchell traveled by train, auto, bus, to Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Louis, Phoenix, Pueblo, San Bernardino, Los Angeles, Fresno, Eugene, Salem, Tacoma, Seattle, Aberdeen and many other towns. She spoke once, twice, three times a day, usually to 100 people or more.

Powerful citizens tried to stop some of the meetings. School auditoriums suddenly became "previously engaged." Super-patriots shouted that the Civil Rights Congress was "subversive." At Bremerton, Wash., the Navy Yard workers were told they might lose their jobs if they went to the meeting. In Salem, Ore., the Negro men were suddenly sent to work on a railroad job out of town the day Bessie Mitchell was there.

WHAT SHE TOLD THEM: But the country heard about the Trenton Six. "Lots of people knew about it already," Mrs. Mitchell says. "They read it in the GUARDIAN and a few other papers."

After her meetings townspeople would come up, ask her to stay over for a day or two for other meetings. Always she told them the whole story, of the framing of the Six, the victory in staving off death, the fight for a new trial and the final freedom still to come. And she told them what the case meant in the whole struggle for human rights.

IT NEVER STOPS: Her story brought out other civil rights cases, buried in communities that hadn't known how to fight them. "The courage a person had would help others," Mrs. Mitchell recalls.

Now she's home again. Collis English, McKinley Forrest, John McKenzie, Horace Wilson, Ralph Cooper and James Thorpe are waiting in jail for their new trial.

Bessie Mitchell is out on the streets of Trenton this week distributing this handbill.

$1000 Reward

For Information Leading to the Arrest And Conviction of the Real Murderer of William Horner

Communicate with:

CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS — O. JOHN ROGGE

Prosecutor Volpe and the Trenton Police Tried to Send Six Negroes to the Chair for a Crime They Didn't Commit

Demand That Governor Driscoll Remove Prosecutor Volpe and the Police Officials Responsible for This Anti-Negro Frame-Up!

Demand That Governor Driscoll Free the Innocent Trenton Six!

She isn't resting.

The A&P racket

(Continued from page 1)

daily newspaper would accept its copy. An official of the paper was frank: "The other three [papers] get grocery advertising from A & P every week. We don't get any. I have no doubt whatever that if we carried A & P ads regularly, we also would have refused the ad."

Attorney General J. Howard McGrath has boiled the issue down to this: "We're contesting with [A & P] for vicious, illegal practices . . . two-price systems, selling below cost, unfair methods, by which they drive their competitors out of business, (then charge) higher prices."

YOU'RE THE GOAT: Supporting this position are such persons as Dexter Masters, editor of Consumers Union: "In previous litigation the courts found that A & P achieved its admittedly low prices partly at least by illegal and sharp practices"; and C. C. Precure, president of the National Assn. of Retail Grocers: "Proceedings brought by the Department of Justice against the A & P, if successful, will result in lower prices."

The anti-A & P position has been pretty well summed up by James Patton, president of the National Farmers Union: "A & P . . . used low prices to drive small grocers out of business, made customers at other stores make up the difference, monopolized markets and forced farmers to take whatever price it wanted to pay."

1-50 RAY C THOMAS 1758 S 13TH SALEM ORE